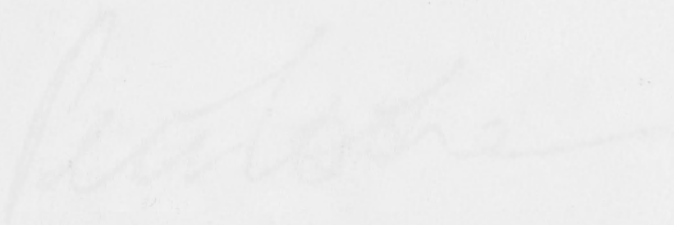


**PERFORMING PEPYS:**

**PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION OF THE *DIARY*  
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.**

Signed,



by

Peter David Looker

Peter David Looker

1996.

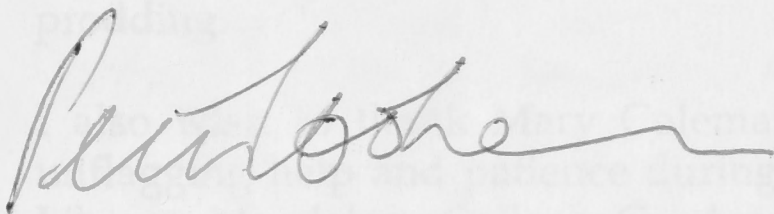
Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements  
for a degree in Doctor of Philosophy  
at the Australian National University  
Canberra, 27 February, 1996.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

DECLARATION: I, Peter David Looker, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other intitute of higher learning except where due acknowldgment is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed,



Peter David Looker.

Catherine Pratt, friend and colleague, for all the conversations, for her belief in my work, and for her love, has my very special gratitude.

And to all the others who have likewise supported me - Jang Campbell, Paul Eggert, Joy Hoxton, Philippa Kelly, Lee Taylor and John Nielson - my thanks.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Pepys's *Diary* was first published in 1825 as a text which said something about the past. Its appearance in the public realm coincided with the growing importance of history to early nineteenth-century thinkers. It is, therefore, deeply implicated in the growing awareness of the differences between the past and a rapidly changing present. As a result of a new awareness of the past, more diaries and memoirs were

My thanks and appreciation go to Dr. Nicholas Jose and Professor Ian Donaldson, who got me started, gave me a great deal of encouragement and threw out some useful challenges. Ian Donaldson provided me with enormous and continuing support, intellectual stimulation, and gentle prodding.

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Catherine Pratt, friend and colleague, for all the conversations, for her belief in my work, and for her love, has my very special gratitude.

And to all the others who have likewise supported me - Jane Campbell, Paul Eggert, Joy Hooton, Philippa Kelly, Lee Taylor and Julia Nielson - my thanks.

The first chapter is concerned with the material publishing history of the text in the nineteenth century. The second, third and fourth chapters deal with different facets of the same process - contextualising the *Diary*, or making it intelligible. The second chapter explores the way in which the details of everyday life came to be viewed and appreciated against a still-prevailing view of the dignity of history. The third chapter suggests that Braybrooke edited the text in ways that would guarantee readers would take it as historically authentic. The fourth chapter opens both these issues up to the wider field of nineteenth-century debates about history, suggesting that the acceptance of Pepys's *Diary* as having intrinsic historical value in the mid nineteenth century was influenced by the popularity of Scott and the historical novel and also by the essays of Macaulay. The period between 1825 and 1848, the year in which the third edition came out, was crucial to a growing acceptance of Pepys's *Diary* as a text which has become central to our perceptions of Restoration England.

## ABSTRACT.

Pepys's *Diary* was first published in 1825 as a text which said something about the past. Its appearance in the public realm coincided with the growing importance of history to early nineteenth-century thinkers. It is, therefore, deeply implicated in the growing awareness of the differences between the past and a rapidly changing present. As a result of a new awareness of the past, more diaries and memoirs were being published at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In a sense, they represent a new genre. But as yet, they were not entirely "intelligible" in historical terms. The first reviews of Pepys's *Diary* indicate some uncertainty as to its historical value. One of the main reasons this thesis concentrates on the early nineteenth century is because it was then that the text's historical value became established.

The first edition was heavily abridged, by Lord Braybrooke, who was reviled later in the century for his cavalier treatment of the text. But this was after Pepys's *Diary* had become one of the century's best sellers. If we look at the circumstances of that first abridgment we can see that its quite specific shape was influenced by current ideas about history and historical authenticity.

The main themes of this thesis spring from the fact of abridgment, and the changing social and cultural circumstances of the time. The aim is to look at the publication of Pepys's *Diary* as a social product - hence the title "Performing Pepys". I further claim that because of the nature of the manuscript, there can never be a definitive edition of the text. All editions are performances of the text.

The first chapter is concerned with the material publishing history of the text in the nineteenth century. The second, third and fourth chapters deal with different facets of the same process - contextualising the *Diary*, or making it intelligible. The second chapter explores the way in which the details of everyday life came to be viewed and appreciated against a still-prevailing view of the dignity of history. The third chapter suggests that Braybrooke edited the text in ways that would guarantee readers would take it as historically authentic. The fourth chapter opens both these issues up to the wider field of nineteenth-century debates about history, suggesting that the acceptance of Pepys's *Diary* as having intrinsic historical value in the mid nineteenth century was influenced by the popularity of Scott and the historical novel and also by the essays of Macaulay. The period between 1825 and 1848, the year in which the third edition came out, was crucial to a growing acceptance of Pepys's *Diary* as a text which has become central to our perceptions of Restoration England.

## INTRODUCTION.

### CONTENTS.

"... nowadays we can no longer believe in an external immutable reality, nor in a literature which could merely be the transcription of this reality." Tzvetan Todorov.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, prior to the publication of his edition of Pepys's *Diary*, Henry Wheatley made a suggestion which

is as applicable a hundred years later as it was then: "If we imagine all quotations from Pepys's *Diary* expunged from the books in which they

occur we have the book".<sup>1</sup> Significantly, Wheatley's perception of Pepys's importance is

given a negative twist by suggesting that without Pepys's *Diary*, we cannot recognize its utility and influence, can we begin to appreciate its value.

So popular and so naturalised had the text become by the end of the nineteenth century that it had obtained a kind of invisible presence.

Established as an indispensable source of information about late seventeenth-century England, the *Diary* had become the backbone of English culture as the quintessential diary.<sup>2</sup> Without the *Diary*, the

*Encyclopaedia Britannica* could not have been written.<sup>3</sup> As some Pepys's *Diary* was even regarded

as a history in its own right.<sup>4</sup> In 1884, reporting on the unveiling of a monument to Pepys, the *Illustrated London News* and journalist George Smith

recalled Ralph Waldo Emerson's once having said to him "read Pepys; it is the best history of the last great reign".<sup>5</sup> In this regard, it is interesting to note that in the 1995 catalogue of Penguin Books Australia, the paperback

<sup>1</sup> Henry Wheatley "Unpublished Pages of Samuel Pepys", *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 30, November 1891, p. 649. Also in *Library Age*, Vol. 192, 16 January, 1892, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Foxworth, *Pepys's Chronicle: A Study of English Manuscripts* (Oxford University Press, London, 1974), p. 2 and passim.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol. 17 (1834), p. 521. The entry on Pepys is written by Edward Afton who was published anonymously in *Quaker* 3.

<sup>4</sup> George Smith, *George Smith's London and New Orleans*, Vol. 2 (Macmillan, London, 1890), p. 502.



## INTRODUCTION.

"... nowadays we can no longer believe in an external immutable reality, nor in a literature which could merely be the transcription of this reality." Tzvetan Todorov.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, prior to the publication of his edition of Pepys's *Diary*, Henry Wheatley made a suggestion which is as applicable now, a hundred years later, as it was then: "If we imagine all quotations from Pepys's *Diary* expunged from the books in which they occur we shall realise very vividly the importance as well as the interest of the book".<sup>1</sup> Significantly, Wheatley's perception of Pepys's importance is given a negative twist: only by imagining the *Diary's* absence, in order to recognize its 'ubiquity' and influence, can we begin to appreciate its value. So popular and so 'naturalised' had the text become by the end of the nineteenth century, that it had obtained a kind of invisible presence. Established as an indispensable source of information about late seventeenth century England, it had also entered the bloodstream of English culture as the quintessential diary.<sup>2</sup> Without the *Diary*, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1884) opined, "the history of the court of Charles II could not have been written".<sup>3</sup> By some Pepys's *Diary* was even regarded as a history in its own right. In 1884, reporting on the unveiling of a monument to Pepys, the American essayist and journalist George Smalley recalled Ralph Waldo Emerson's once having said to him: "read Pepys; it is the best history of England extant".<sup>4</sup> In this regard, it is interesting to note that in the 1995 catalogue of Penguin Books Australia, the paperback

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Wheatley, "Unpublished Pages of Samuel Pepys", *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 30, November 1891, p.699. Also in *Living Age*, Vol. 192, 16 January, 1892, p.72.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Fothergill, *Private Chronicles: A Study of English Diaries*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1974) p.3 and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol. XVIII, (1884). p.521. The entry on Pepys is written by Osmond Airy who later published a biography of Charles II.

<sup>4</sup> George Smalley, *London Letters and Some Others*, Vol. 2. (Macmillan. London, 1890) p.502.

edition of *The Shorter Pepys* (edited by Robert Latham and first published in 1985) is listed as one of eleven works in the category "Seventeenth Century History and Politics".<sup>5</sup> This categorisation seems perfectly natural, because we know how to place it in a socio-historical context, but when the text was first published in 1825, one of the chief topics of debate in the reviews was whether or not the text actually had historical value, and if so, of what kind.

As the preface to the first volume of the Latham-Matthews edition of the *Diary* says, later in the nineteenth century, in the Victorian age, at a time "when the English reading public was expanding more rapidly than in any previous period ... the diary was one of the best-known books, and Pepys one of the best-known figures, of English history".<sup>6</sup> Prior to 1825, of course, it was unpublished and virtually unknown, so it is important to stress here that it was in the nineteenth century that it rapidly became well-known. In the last quarter of the century it was available in numerous forms, from expensive multi-volume, near-complete, editions to cheap, abridged, railway editions. A quick scan of the *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* indicates that for the forty-seven years between 1867 and 1914 at least forty-three separate publications coming under the generic heading Pepys's *Diary* were published.<sup>7</sup> The majority of these were reprints of the first (1825) edition which had become part of several publishers' 'standard authors series'.<sup>8</sup> Along with this proliferation of abridgments and selections wrangles behind the scenes over copyright of

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<sup>5</sup> *Penguin Academic Subjects*, 1995, (Ringwood, Australia) p.43

<sup>6</sup> L-M, Vol 1, p.xi.

<sup>7</sup> *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* (Library of Congress, Ann Arbor Michigan.)

<sup>8</sup> For example, the verbatim reprint of Braybrooke's 1848 (third) edition formed part of George Allen & Unwin's "Standard Authors Library" and was issued five times between 1890 and 1914 and again in 1924 and 1929. Braybrooke's first edition was reissued in a single volume as one of the "Chandos Classics" many times from 1869 to the 1890s, and in five slim volumes, each representing about two years of the *Diary*, by Cassell's, as part of their "National Library" 1887-94.

the text and notes took place among prominent publishers testifying to the commercial importance of Pepys's *Diary*.

To Robert Louis Stevenson in his review of the Mynors Bright edition in the late 1870s it had become an "established classic".<sup>9</sup> When the first volume of Henry Wheatley's edition of Pepys's *Diary* appeared in 1893, the *Athenaeum* opened its review by saying "Whoever induces or enables us to read the *immortal* Diary once again is to be considered as a public benefactor".<sup>10</sup> It is on the strength of the *Diary* that Pepys's portrait hangs alongside those of royalty and the aristocracy in the National Portrait Gallery, an elevated position he would not have attained on the basis of his work in the Navy alone, despite its importance. In this sense, Pepys has quite literally, *written* himself into history. But he did it posthumously, in the nineteenth century, and for this study, that fact is significant.

It should be stated here, that for the sake of this study, there are what I will call four major editions of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century - the first (1825) and third (1848) editions edited by Braybrooke, the Mynors Bright edition (1875-1879) and the Wheatley edition (1893-1896).<sup>11</sup> The reason I call these the major editions will become clearer in the first chapter. As each of these editions appeared they called forth a new round of commentary and interpretation sufficiently separated in time to illustrate changing intellectual and cultural preoccupations throughout the century. As the new editions appeared, however, there were, as I have just indicated, many cross-currents in the form of abridgments and selections. The picture is so complicated that when one

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<sup>9</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, "Samuel Pepys", *Cornhill Magazine*, Vol 44, July-December, 1881. p.31. This essay is also reprinted in Stevenson's *Familiar studies of Men and Books*.

<sup>10</sup> *Athenaeum* No. 3418, April 29, 1893 p 529.

<sup>11</sup> For convenience, in the footnotes, these editions will be called: B1, for Braybrooke's first edition; B3, for Braybrooke's third edition; MB, for the Mynors Bright edition; and Wh, for the Wheatley edition.



talks about the popularity of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century, it is difficult to know what text one is referring to. To some degree the term 'Pepys's *Diary*' is a kind of abstract referent.

The reasons for the sudden rise to fame of Pepys and his *Diary* in the nineteenth century have never been explored beyond attempts to restate the nature of the work's 'obvious' appeal. Yet the type of explanation given for the appeal of Pepys's *Diary* gives some clue as to why there has been so little real analysis of it in literary and cultural terms. Pondering the conspicuous lack of critical appreciation of the text, Robert Latham concludes that historians "have been content to plunder the diary for quotations, rather than study it" and literary critics are simply not interested in diaries.<sup>12</sup> One of the clues as to why there has been so little critical analysis of Pepys's *Diary* lies in Latham's own statement. He is right to say that historians have been content to plunder the diary for quotations without "studying" or analysing the work itself. Consulting the index of virtually any book about Restoration England (on a wide range of topics) makes Latham's point graphically clear. Frequently - as for example in Ronald Hutton's *The Restoration* (1985) or *Charles II* (1989) - there will be at least as many, if not more, references to Pepys's *Diary*, than to any other single source.<sup>13</sup> The point here is that in the index, under the name 'Pepys', the references are not to the person but to his text. Yet quotations from Pepys's *Diary* are generally employed to supply information, or to corroborate other evidence. They are rarely evaluated *as* evidence. It is as if the text provides a stable, transparent, and even authenticating background of fact. That the text is taken for granted in this way says something about the degree to which it is viewed

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<sup>12</sup>Robert C. Latham, "Pepys and his Editors", *University of Leeds Review*, Vol. 27.1984/5. p.129

<sup>13</sup>Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration A Religious and Political History of England and Wales, 1658-1667*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985) p. 377 and *passim*; and *Charles II: King of England, Scotland and Ireland*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989) p.551 and *passim*.

as unproblematically realistic. In our own age, as the epigraph from Todorov suggests, we question the appearance of objectivity and the coherence and integrity of subjective experience. As I wish to show in the body of this study, commentators on Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century imbued the text with transparency, realism, objectivity, and factuality by the way they understood it to have been written. The fact that Pepys's *Diary* is a piece of *writing* was occluded in the interests of finding it transparent. Why this should have been the case is part of a cultural moment I wish to investigate. But it seems strange that a text which has been set up in this way, a text which has become a cultural authority on the basis of its transparent realism, has not been one of the first to be interrogated in terms of the *writerly* qualities that allow it to be read as transparently real. Perhaps, too, this is part of its invisibility.

Throughout this study, I want to show the extent to which, in the nineteenth century, there was an anxious and concerted effort to *make* the text factual, true, transparent. As Peter Shillingsberg suggests, in the light of modern theoretical ideas that "objectivity is a chimera ...recent investigations of the nature of 'facts', 'history' and 'truth' have been focused on the idea of the structuring effect of language". Language "provides a vehicle and imposes limits for mental constructs of 'reality'".<sup>14</sup> Yet, as Shillingsberg suggests, in some areas, such as textual criticism and scholarly editing, the positivist tradition has remained fairly stubbornly in place. I would argue that equally, literary theory has left 'factual' texts such as Pepys's *Diary* out of account. What Shillingsberg's formulation foregrounds is the role of language, and by implication writing, in structuring reality. Language - commentary - also structures other

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<sup>14</sup>Peter Shillingsberg, "Text as Matter, Concept and Action", *Studies in Bibliography* Vol.44, 1991. (University Press of Virginia)p.32.

writing, which in a sense becomes its object, or reality. This study concerns writing about writing - that is, writing about a text called Pepys's *Diary*. What interests me is the way the 'object', originally Pepys's manuscript, has been constructed in and by a particular moment of cultural history - specifically the period from the early nineteenth century to around the time of World War I. In taking this approach, I am not intending to devalue Pepys's *Diary* itself by suggesting that the way we have come to see it is the result of cultural construction merely. If anything I am implying a re-evaluation of Pepys's *Diary* by suggesting that nineteenth-century views of it as realistic and transparent occluded some of its most interesting, and puzzling, aspects. It seems to me that if it is regarded as a piece of writing it becomes far more interesting than if it is regarded as a transparent window on the world.

Reviewing the first volumes of the Latham-Matthews edition (1970), J.H. Plumb, like Robert Latham, notes the way the *Diary* is used unreflectingly by historians. In a statement which concurs with Wheatley's pronouncement at the start of this Introduction, Plumb suggests that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "Pepys was a household name". "Increasingly [through the nineteenth century] ", he continues, "the 1660s in England were seen through the eyes of Pepys. ... The Restoration, the Plague, the Great Fire, are all now reflected in Pepys's looking-glass." Plumb's formulation - the idea of seeing through the eyes of Pepys - and the warning which arises from it, are apt ways of leading into one of the underlying concerns of this study, for he goes on to say, "there are dangers for the historian in entering Pepys so thoroughly as to take the *Diary* for 'Truth'."<sup>15</sup> If we are looking for an obvious response to Latham's indictment of historians and literary critics, it is that the *Diary*

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<sup>15</sup> J.H. Plumb. *Spectator*, Vol. 225, October, 1970. p. 485.



remains unanalysed precisely because it is taken for 'Truth'. Fundamental to the way Pepys's *Diary* has been used as a source for historians, and equally fundamental to commentary on the text, is the idea that it is transparently 'true' and 'realistic'. More than this, the fact that the Restoration came to be seen through the eyes of Pepys, as a 'true' picture of the times, has had a curious, self-reflecting, effect. It is as if Pepys's *Diary* itself now forms the background of Restoration London which other histories need to use as an authenticating touchstone. This is an important point to remember. As the quotation from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* suggested, without Pepys's *Diary* the history of the court of Charles II could not have been written. By the time this article appeared, Pepys's *Diary* had, in a sense, *become* the Restoration, which is no more than saying that it had become a preferred way of seeing the period. A passage from a relatively recent book about Pepys by Geoffrey Trease, *Samuel Pepys and his World*, illustrates this point. J.H. Plumb speaks of the events of the Restoration as increasingly reflected in Pepys's looking-glass through the nineteenth century. What we can see in the following passage is this idea taken to its extreme, so that it turns back on itself. From Trease's point of view, the Restoration period is now completely encompassed by Pepys's looking-glass. The image of the period created in the first place by the text, is now the reality it 'perfectly' reflects.

'Pepys ... and his World.' Is there any name in history to which that comprehensive phrase can be attached with more genuine meaning? Pepys's world was small by modern standards, and one man with broad interests could touch it at many points. Pepys with his insatiable curiosity, his sociable disposition and the opportunities afforded by his office, was ideally equipped to 'know' the world in which he lived. In a single day he might be conferring with his sovereign, gossiping in a tavern with a ship's captain, a scholar or a merchant, watching a scientific demonstration at the

Royal Society, and fondling an actress in the darkness of a coach. His *life story mirrors the Restoration* in all its exuberant variety.<sup>16</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

The problem with this passage lies in its final sentence. For it is through the content and structure of his writing that Pepys evinces exuberance at the 'variety' he encountered. The seamless texture of the *Diary*, the apparent plenitude of the text, gives a *texture* to the decade it speaks of, and the impression of filling out a 'whole world'. And while qualities of disposition and position may well have brought him into contact with a wider spectrum of society than many others, it is a false move to say that his life story therefore reflects the exuberant variety of Restoration society. Yet the equation between the way the actual Pepys lived and the qualities of the text which give it the appearance of fulness is one frequently made. In a review of a volume of Pepys's letters, Mark van Doren compares the older, more restrained and formal, correspondent, lamenting the loss of the younger diarist who "*ran literally everywhere* after news and seemed to have the knack of appearing in ten important parts of London at once".<sup>17</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Both Trease and van Doren are led to faintly absurd and naive conclusions by failing to distinguish between Pepys's *text* and his life. What both imply, however, by these conclusions is that they see the text as a literal transcription of reality, not a text which structures and limits reality in language. The text is congruent with Samuel Pepys's life. Philip Harth also suggests that "the breadth of Pepys's interests and activities is responsible for a good part of the *Diary's* importance as a record of the first decade of the Restoration".<sup>18</sup> But unlike Trease, Harth

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<sup>16</sup>Geoffrey Trease, *Samuel Pepys and his World*, (Thames and Hudson, London, 1972 & 1978) p.5.

<sup>17</sup> Mark van Doren, from a review of J.R.Tanner (Ed.) *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys: 1679 -1703*, in *The Private Reader: Selected Articles and Reviews*, (Kraus Reprint Co., N.Y., 1968) pp. 150-151.

<sup>18</sup> Phillip Harth, "Review of Volume Ten Companion ", *Eighteenth Century Studies* , Vol 18, 1984-85. p.232.

quickly throws any notion that Pepys therefore reflects a whole world into relief, by comparing him with contemporaries, such as Evelyn. In so doing, he places limits on Pepys's experience. That it looks as if it 'records everything' is a function of the writing. One could also add here that other writing by Pepys shows that the *Diary* itself is selective in what it tells. In the *Navy White Book*, for example, which is largely a record of affairs concerning Pepys's work as Clerk of the Acts, several entries matching the dates of entries in the *Diary* indicate that Pepys could also omit some of his daily activities from the larger, better-known text.

Almost without exception, nineteenth century commentators stressed what the quotation from Trease implies, the unerring realism of Pepys's *Diary*, so that seeing through Pepys's eyes meant the complete subordination of the text as a *mediated representation* of the 1660s. If it is perceived to be a 'mirror' of the 1660s, Pepys's *Diary* comes as close as it is possible to get to being a transparent signifier of the real world. In the nineteenth century Pepys's *Diary* was seen in the terms used by Todorov in the epigraph to this Introduction, as a transcription of reality.

It is this tendency to see the *Diary* as a transcription of reality, and aspects of the history which allowed such a point of view, which forms the foundation of this study. The popularity of the work in the nineteenth century is intimately linked to the reasons it was found to be a transcription of reality. Or, to put it another way, the history of Pepys's *Diary* as a publication is at the same time a history of identifying and foregrounding those features of the text which allow it to be spoken of as a transcription of reality. This involved, as I shall point out later in this Introduction, a persistent suppression of aspects of the text which might bring its perceived realism into question. Clearly, such interpretative manipulations depend on a view of what it means to represent the world



in a transparently realistic way. In the nineteenth century, with regard to Pepys's *Diary*, construing the text as transparently real meant excluding from view anything which might make it appear to be self-conscious, or self-reflexive, emphasising instead its artlessness, spontaneity, lack of polish, and secrecy. The aim seems to have been to obliterate any sense of the text as a piece of writing which constructs or mediates the world. According to this view, Pepys's writing is not even *expressive*, it merely registers a reality that is just objectively out there. The aim of this study is therefore to examine aspects of this quite complex history of interpretation in order to come to some understanding of how Pepys's *Diary* has come to be seen in the terms expressed by Trease.

The kind of history I wish to outline in this study accords with the cultural moment described by Raymond Williams in *Marxism and Literature* when he suggests that one of the consequences of the "bourgeois drawing and redrawing" of boundaries between written forms in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, was that over and against the newly distanced "fictional" or "imaginary", "there was a related suppression of the fact of writing - *active signifying composition* - in what was distinguished as the 'practical', the 'factual', or the 'discursive'"<sup>19</sup>. (Emphasis mine.) Factuality, in other words, could now be signified by causing writing, as a frankly representational act, to recede into invisibility. Stephen Bann identifies the same kind of process from the end of the eighteenth century as a movement away from *vraisemblance* to *vérité* a classicist aesthetic where "representation is assumed ... to be a process of *mimesis* or imitation, in which we pass from the real to the simulated" to an ideal of 'fidelity', "life-like representation" which assumes

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<sup>19</sup> Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1977 & 1978.) p.147.

"at least as an ideal, the transparency of the signifier".<sup>20</sup> Williams and Bann are charting the same historical moment and the same movement from writing (or visual art) as *representational* to writing which pretends not to be representational, but which gives the appearance of simply registering, even simulating, the real.

There could be no better way of summing up the history of interpretation of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century than to say its overall aim was directed towards suppressing the fact of writing, or of active signifying composition, in order to validate its factuality. The historical moment bracketed by Williams and Bann is also significant. Pepys's *Diary* was published at the time when the kind of re-ordering of boundaries between forms of writing suggested by Williams was taking place. What I wish to propose is that coming out when it did, in 1825, at a time when arguments about historical fact and fiction were intensified by the popularity of Scott's historical novels, Pepys's *Diary* formed part of the process of redefining those boundaries. One way of looking at the reviews of the first edition is to see that much of the commentary is unconsciously devoted to negotiating a space for this particular publication in the overall field of available texts and to find ways of 'reading' it. What makes it an authentic diary from the past? Where does it fit in terms of historiography proper? What is its relationship to historical fiction? More explicitly, what distinguishes it from other diaries such as that of John Evelyn?

As I suggested above, ascribing 'truth' or 'realism' to a text cannot be separated from what truth and realism are conceived to be and how they are seen to be embodied textually. Nineteenth century Europe,

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<sup>20</sup> Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío: a Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France*, (Cambridge University Press, 1984.) p.14

Hayden White declares, displayed a "rage for a realistic apprehension of the world".<sup>21</sup> From a viewpoint in the late twentieth century, we can see that "most of the important theoretical disputes that developed in Europe between the French Revolution and World War I were in reality disputes over which groups might claim the right to determine of what a 'realistic' representation of social reality might consist".<sup>22</sup> Even if we think we know intuitively what realism means in a general way in nineteenth-century terms, as he goes on to point out, every age, "even the most fideistic, such as the Medieval period, gains its integral consistency from the conviction of its own capacities to know 'reality' and to react to its challenges with appropriately 'realistic' responses". It may be easier, then, to determine what realism means to a particular age by looking at what it means to that age to be 'unrealistic' or 'utopian'. As I shall discuss in more detail later, to nineteenth-century commentators, the realism of Pepys's *Diary* would have been compromised, for example, had there been evidence that Pepys wrote with posterity in mind, or with an eye to publication. Seeing the Restoration through Pepys's eyes in the nineteenth century required the constant reassertion that the text was written for the writer's eyes only. The idea that Pepys wrote only for himself was a crucial, for many absolutely essential, precondition for the text's truth. Interestingly, this began to change around the first decade of the twentieth century when a number of commentators began to entertain the possibility that Pepys deliberately 'planted' the manuscript in the library he bequeathed to Magdalene College, Cambridge.

To press Hayden White's point a bit further, we can say that the history of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century represents a case study

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<sup>21</sup> Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and Ohio, 1973) p.45.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* pp.46-47.



in what a realistic apprehension of the world was considered to be. As I have already said, interpretation of it was directed towards identifying those of its features which made it factual and realistic in nineteenth century terms and that involved seeing it in terms of *vérité* rather than *vraisemblance*. What I want to demonstrate, as proof that it was constituted in the image of nineteenth-century concerns, is how many of the statements employed to affirm the text's truth and realism were actually extrinsic to the text, while appearing to be intrinsic properties of it. Beliefs, for example, about the way it was composed and beliefs about the privacy of the shorthand were constantly brought in to assert the text's realism, yet these beliefs can easily be contradicted by textual evidence.

That such beliefs were insistently applied, however, tells us a great deal about nineteenth century values, particularly with regard to the value of the eyewitness account and its relation to truth. If there is any one aspect of the deep structure of nineteenth-century thought and belief which governs the web of reasons adduced to prove the realism of Pepys's text, it is that, finally, the absolute truth of the objective world (whose existence is axiomatic) can only be apprehended by an individual whose integrity as an authentic individual remains uncompromised by writing as active signifying composition. Art, as opposed to artlessness, adulterates this truth. In a sense, as I will show in chapter four, the idea of the eyewitness who provides for us a 'transparent' account of the past is valued because it allows the reader to witness and judge events him or herself, at the smallest possible remove from the actuality. Pepys is valued over Evelyn for precisely this reason. Evelyn reflects and explains. Pepys, according to commentators in the nineteenth century, allows us to see for ourselves for all the reasons that his writing is made to seem transparent. As readers Pepys's transparency allows us to reach the ideal

of being eyewitnesses to the past. That such an ideal existed, as I will discuss in chapter four, can be seen quite clearly in the metaphorical language used by Macaulay in his famous "History" essay (1828) and on commentary about Scott's novels. History should be written in such a way that the reader has the sense of walking around in the past, seeing it for him or herself.

This ideal of the reader as eyewitness cannot be overstressed in discussing why it is that such a concerted effort was made by nineteenth-century commentators to obliterate the active signifying composition of the text. To see Pepys's text as self-consciously drawing attention to itself as writing, would interfere between the reader and the Restoration world on view, because it would make the reader conscious of a textual construction. The history of commentary on Pepys's *Diary* indicates a desire not to distinguish mental constructs from the real world.

One of the key nineteenth-century conceptualisations governing readings of Pepys's *Diary* as a piece of realism is represented by the idea that Pepys *recorded* (rather than wrote) the real world he experienced. Percy Lubbock, for example, claims that the value of the *Diary* as an historical authority results from its being a "mere transcript of events, a record of contemporary gossip about people and things".<sup>23</sup> "Mere transcript" and "record" both minimise the fact of writing, so that the text approximates the real world. For David Hannay, writing a year after Lubbock, Pepys "put down whatever he saw, heard, felt, or imagined, every motion of his mind, every action of his body [and] he noted all this, not as he desired it to appear to others, but as it was to his seeing".<sup>24</sup> Both these commentators subordinate any awareness that Pepys actively

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<sup>23</sup> Percy Lubbock, *Samuel Pepys*, (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1909.) p.2.

<sup>24</sup> David Hannay, "English Diarists", *Academy*, 1910-11. p. 130.

created, or wrote, a representation of the real, to a view of him as a kind of cipher, a passive receiver and recorder, a transcriber, or putter-down. It is on the basis of comments like these, symptomatic of more deeply embedded ideas, that Francis Barker suggests "we have learnt to read Pepys's text as the pattern of the empirical, whose transcription it is".<sup>25</sup> Barker's argument, tantalisingly brief and elusive with regard to Pepys, is that the text obtains an "unalterable presence" as a result of a collusion between readers' assumptions about the nature of 'objective' reality (that is, its priorities and order) and the "plainness" of Pepys's writing, which appears to do no more than set down a known, visible, and recordable, world: "Everything is here and now, perceived and written down". There is nothing out of view, hidden either behind or beneath the text. Although it is not part of his aim to explore this further, Barker comments that this is how the value of the *Diary* has been identified for us by commentators.

Barker's highly suggestive comments about the text's "unalterable presence" bring us a step closer to a definition of realism as it applies to Pepys's *Diary*. Realism is conferred by presence, and presence is construed in various ways. This means interpreting Pepys's *Diary* in terms of its proximity to a (speaking) voice recounting events (to itself) almost as they happen. The notion of recording, putting down, or transcribing reality, has an important temporal dimension - represented by the idea of immediacy - which also helps to make the fact of writing, active signifying composition, invisible. William Matthews points to the difference between "historical immediacy, ...the shortness of the interval dividing event from record" and "literary immediacy... an effect of

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<sup>25</sup> Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection*, (Methuen & Co., London, 1984) pp. 4-5.



language and imagination". Pepys's *Diary*, he claims frequently demonstrates the latter, that is the *impression* of immediacy, at precisely the times when we know the entries were made at a longer interval after the events written about.<sup>26</sup> Yet the majority of commentators have not only assumed, but insisted upon, the 'historical' immediacy of the text, from which its 'literary' immediacy follows. They also see the text's immediacy springing from the idea that the text can be equated with Pepys's speaking voice: "we may be sure that Pepys wrote his diary pretty much as he spoke".<sup>27</sup> The text was virtually the same as speech, and the approximation to speech confers presence.

From 1825 to around World War I, we can detect three phases of interpretation of Pepys's *Diary*. The first phase, from the publication of Braybrooke's first edition in 1825, to the third edition of 1848, can be characterised by a concern both with the text's authenticity - that it was written by a real man living in a real past - and with its historical status. An underlying question in the reviews of the first edition was, is it valuable in historical terms, and if so, why? In the second phase, impelled by a reassessment of the text on the publication of Braybrooke's third edition in 1848, and related to the enormous popularity of Macaulay's *History of England*, the historical value of Pepys's text became accepted and established as central to its appeal. At this time, as I will indicate in chapter two, its historical value was seen to reside in precisely those features of the text which some reviewers of the first edition thought historically worthless, or marginal. In the third phase, around the 1870s, the centre of interest shifted to a more a-historical appreciation of the text as the startlingly full revelation of one man's 'soul'. To a large degree this

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<sup>26</sup> L-M, Vol 1, p.cv.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Alexander, "The Language of Pepys's Diary", *Queen's Quarterly: a Canadian Review*, Vol.53, no.1, 1946. p.54.

change coincided with Mynors Bright's edition of the late 1870s, but there is evidence to suggest that a re-evaluation of the text along these lines was already taking place. The emphasis on the confessional nature of the text intensified with the publication of Henry Wheatley's edition in the 1890s. This can be seen as no more than the result of the inclusion in Wheatley's edition of new material concerned with Pepys's private life. It seems logical that reviewers would focus their attention on this new material, as they had done with both Bright's edition and Braybrooke's third. Nevertheless, it could equally be said that it was in part symptomatic of late nineteenth-century obsessions with the gap between public life and private, secret selves, that Wheatley decided to produce a new edition including this material. The delighted, though sometimes prurient, amazement some reviewers of Wheatley's edition expressed at the extent of Pepys's self-revelation, and their emphasis on it as a study in psychology, support this view.

There were, then, in the nineteenth century both common threads of interpretation and shifts of emphasis. While this study discusses the reception of Pepys's *Diary* through all three phases just mentioned, its primary focus is on the first edition. What makes the first edition interesting is that it entered the public domain at a time when history itself was a focus of intellectual discussion. As a result, the reviews of this edition, as with discussions about Scott's novels, are at the same time, debates about the nature of history. And as well as general historical debate entering these reviews, the nature of history is debated in terms of the texts themselves. It is in this sense that the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*, which all the journals reviewed at length, employing some of the best-known names of the day, such as Francis Jeffrey and Walter Scott, was very much a dynamic part of early nineteenth-century redefinitions

of history and generic boundaries. In fact, it could be said that in the early nineteenth century, new ideas about the past, ideas which sustained the debates about Scott's novels, drew attention to Evelyn's and Pepys's diaries as worthy of publication. For this reason, I want to suggest in this study that if we are to understand the nature of the popularity of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century, then it makes sense to think of it as a nineteenth-century text, rather than as a seventeenth-century text. As a publication, it was first constituted within nineteenth century cultural and intellectual parameters. And in many ways, the first edition bears the marks of the period in which it was published.

The first edition of Pepys's *Diary* is interesting for other, not unrelated, reasons. It is commonly known that it was severely abridged. Lord Braybrooke claimed in his preface to have preserved the original meaning. This implies, of course, that Braybrooke posits an essence in the text. With distance, however, it is clear that what Braybrooke sees as its original meaning is very much influenced by the predilections of his own time. But as a publication it survived long beyond the time in which it was first produced. It is difficult to get an exact figure on how many times Braybrooke's first edition has been reprinted by one publisher or another, but it was still appearing as Pepys's *Diary* in the late 1930s. Although this cannot be said with certainty, it is quite plausible to suggest that between 1825 and the late 1930s more people had read Pepys in Braybrooke's first edition than in any other form. In 1937, Edwin Chappell published *Bibliographia Pepysiana* which, as well as offering a bibliography of editions of the work and of writing about Pepys, contained some acerbic comments about the general state of Pepysian publication and scholarship. In his introductory remarks Chappell suggested a moratorium on publications concerning Pepys for a space of



thirty years in order to eradicate misinformation. His harshest comments were reserved for those who still publish Braybrooke's first edition: "Very few seem to know the truth about the mutilation to which the Diary has been subjected". He goes on to say how the complete work consists of about 1,330,000 words. Of these Lord Braybrooke's first and second (1828) edition contained 360,000: about 27 per cent of the whole and the considerably enlarged third edition (1848) contains 600,000 words (45 per cent).<sup>28</sup> "It seems to me bad enough," he continues, "that this enlarged fragment should be sold today as 'Pepys's Diary'<sup>29</sup>, but what can be said of three publishers who are actually still reprinting Braybooke's original edition?"<sup>30</sup> When I was preparing this study and evinced interest in different editions, four people offered me their copies of what they believed to be Pepys's *Diary*. Each is a single-volume abridgment, and three of the four were reprints of Braybrooke's first edition, two published in the twentieth century, the fourth a selection by Richard Le Gallienne based on Wheatley's edition.<sup>31</sup> As a reader of the *Diary*, each donor had been unaware that the 'real' Pepys's *Diary* was quite a different affair.

I want to devote the rest of this Introduction to a discussion of how my initial research led to an interest in the first edition and why this study is called "Performing Pepys", but before doing so it is necessary to define some terms and make some framing statements. Throughout this study, whenever I refer to Pepys's *Diary* I am referring to a publication, not to

<sup>28</sup>See L-M, Vol 1,

<sup>29</sup>See fn. 8. The verbatim reprint of the third edition was simply called *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*.

<sup>30</sup> Edwin Chappell, *Bibliographia Pepysiana*, printed by Edwin Chappell, 1937. np.

<sup>31</sup> The three Braybrooke editions are: *Pepys' Diary*, "Chandos Classics" (Frederick Warne and Co., London), undated but first issued by this company in 1879 with a short introduction by J. Timbs; *Pepys' Diary*, (Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent and Co. Ltd). undated, but printed in the twentieth century; and *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Introduction by Audley Hay Johnston, (Collins, London and Glasgow) also undated but published in 1933 according to the British Library Catalogue. The fourth volume is called *Samuel Pepys' Diary*, edited with and introduction by Richard Le Gallienne. This is an American edition (The Modern Library, New York) and is also undated, but the first issue of this edition came out in the first decade of the century.

the manuscript from which any publication is made. If I wish to talk about what it was that Pepys himself wrote, that is, the manuscript, then it will be specifically stated. I will either refer to it as the manuscript, or as "my Journall" to adopt one of the writer's ways of referring to it. Occasionally the writer refers to it as "my diary" but I deliberately avoid this so as not to confuse the published work (or works) with the manuscript. The title "Pepys's *Diary* " signifies a separation between manuscript and publication by giving it a third-person attribution and it is important for what I have to say in this thesis not to see Pepys's *Diary* as synonymous with "my Journall".

For the sake of convenience, Pepys's *Diary* is used as a generic term to cover all publications. This could lead to confusion, but when the term is used, the edition it is applied to is either specified, or should appear clear from the context. But the fact that there is, in common usage, such a generic term as 'Pepys's *Diary*', which seems to refer to a single work, is significant. What, exactly, is being referred to when people speak of Pepys's *Diary*? This is a question I wish to complicate in the next chapter.

In its most obvious form, this problem can best be illustrated with some passages from 'Pepys's *Diary*'. The following two sets of passages are 'complete' entries from successive days.

First selection:

[Day one] Strange the difference of men's talk! Some say that Lambert must of necessity yield up; others, that he is very strong, and that the Fifth-monarchy men will stick to him, if he declares for a free parliament. Went and walked in the Hall, where I heard that the Parliament spent this day in fasting and prayer; and in the afternoon came letters from the North, that brought certain news that my Lord Lambert his forces were all forsaking him, and that he was left with only fifty horse, and that he did now declare for the Parliament himself; and that my Lord Fairfax did

also rest satisfied, and had lain down his arms, and that what he had done was only to secure the country against my Lord Lambert his raising of money, and free quarter.

[Day two] I dined with Mr Shepley, at my Lord's lodgings, upon his turkey pie. And so to my office again; where the excise money was brought, and some of it told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, after writing to my Lord the news that the Parliament had this night voted that the members that were discharged from sitting in the years 1648 and 49, were duly discharged; and that there should be writs issued presently for the calling of others in their places, and that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall. Mr Fage and I did discourse concerning public business; and he told me it is true the City had not time enough to do much, but they had resolved to shake off the soldiers; and that unless there be a free Parliament chosen, he did believe there are half the Common Council will not levy any money by order of this Parliament.

Second selection:

[Day one] Early came Mr Vanly to me for his half-year's rent, which I had not in the house, but took his man to the office and there paid him. Then I went down into the Hall and to Will's, where Hawly brought a piece of his Cheshire cheese, and we were merry with it. Then into the Hall again, where I met with the Clerk and Quarter Master of my Lord's troop, and took them to the Swan and gave them their morning's draft, they being just come to town. I went to Will's again, where I found them still at cards, and Spicer had won 14s. of Shaw and Vines. Then I spent a little time with G.Vines and Maylard at Vine's at our viols. So home, and from thence to Mr Hunt's, and sat with them and Mr Hawly at cards till ten at night, and was much made of by them. Home and so to bed, but much troubled with my nose, which was much swelled.

[Day two] I went to my office. Then I went home, and after writing a letter to my Lord and told him the news that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall. Then my wife and I, it being a great frost, went to Mrs Jem's, in expectation to eat a sack-posset, but Mr Edward not coming it was put off.

And a third selection:



[Day two] Dined with Mr. Shepley, at my Lord's lodgings, upon his turkey-pie. And so to my office again, where the Excise money was brought, and some of it told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, and after writing a letter to my Lord, and told him the news that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall.

Except for the common elements in each 'day two', one could imagine that the first two selections come from different parts of the *Diary*, yet each is a 'complete' quotation of both 4 and 5 January, 1660, from different (abridged) editions of Pepys's *Diary*. The first selection is taken from Braybrooke's first (1825) edition, the second from *Samuel Pepys' Diary*, edited by Richard Le Gallienne.<sup>32</sup> The third selection comes from *Everybody's Pepys* a popular, single volume abridgment, first published in 1926 and reissued a number of times into the 1950s.<sup>33</sup> In this edition, 4 January, 1660, is omitted. Apart from the fact that in the first two selections, 4 January is *entirely* different, the narrative of 5 January is also quite different in each one. Given these differences, and the fact that more readers will have read an abridgment than the more 'complete' versions of the text, what does it mean to refer to Pepys's *Diary* as if it were a single work? What does it mean when Robert Louis Stevenson, in his review of Mynors Bright's edition, calls Pepys's *Diary* an established classic, when up to that time what had been "established" was still, even in its longer version, much abridged and condensed? It is as if there is some ideal text, Pepys's *Diary*, which floats free of any of its specific embodiments, but to which all editions more or less imperfectly refer.

Several other distinctions need to be outlined. For reasons which I shall discuss at greater length in the first chapter, I also avoid substituting

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<sup>32</sup> See previous note.

<sup>33</sup> *Everybody's Pepys: The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. "Abridged from the Complete Copyright Text and edited by O.F. Morshead" (G. Bell and Sons, London, 1926.)

Pepys for Pepys's *Diary* even though it is an accepted convention. The shorthand manuscript ("my Journall"), the various published versions of the manuscript (Pepys's *Diary*), the historical figure Samuel Pepys, and the "character" Pepys constituted by the text, remain distinct from each other. There is a difference between Samuel Pepys, the actual man who lived in the seventeenth century, who wrote a diary, and who lived 'outside' and beyond the text, and Pepys the "character" constituted by the text. Obvious as this distinction might seem to be the two are conflated, even unconsciously, in a great deal of writing about Pepys's *Diary*. This sometimes connects with the perceived 'fulness' of the text mentioned above. To the reviewer of Bright's edition in the *Edinburgh Review*, Pepys's *Diary* represents "the trace of each passing thought".<sup>34</sup> And for the writer of an article called "The Man Pepys" in the *Living Age*, the text and the man are the same, "there you have him, the whole of him, *nothing omitted*".<sup>35</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Since I will raise the issue of equating text and man again in the next chapter, I do not want to dwell on it here, except to suggest that it is a point of view facilitated by another history, the history of the decline, from the end of the *ancien régime* through the nineteenth century, of the legitimacy of the self in public in favour of a belief in individual authenticity.<sup>36</sup> Underscoring the desire to validate Pepys's *Diary* as the full record of individual witness, most especially in its self-revealing, soul-baring phase at the end of the century - but in fact right through the century - was this sharp decline in the credibility of sociability, and of the self in the public domain. The private self had come to invalidate, undermine, or even ironise any role the self might play in

<sup>34</sup>*Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 147, no. 294.

<sup>35</sup>*Living Age*, Vol. 211, 3 October, 1893. p. 48.

<sup>36</sup>See Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Cambridge University Press, London, 1974 and 1976) *passim*. This element of Sennett's book is discussed in chapter three.

public.<sup>37</sup> The intense privacy placed upon the *Diary* at the end of the century occurred under the same conditions which produced *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, the beginnings of psychoanalytic theory, Sherlock Homes and *Picture of Dorian Gray*. In an age anxious about what lay beneath the surface, Pepys's confessions of secret amours in a secret shorthand were bound to fascinate. But from the time of the publication of the first edition in 1825, the Pepys 'revealed' by the text was seen as a truer self, than the historical figure previously known. This self formed part of the overall pattern I have been sketching, whereby immediacy, privacy and fulness, guaranteed truth and realism and at the same time, on the basis of a nineteenth century epistemology which had begun to link truth with individual experience, truth and realism were associated with a real self that could only be real in its self-communing.

Why "Performing Pepys"? In the first place the title is a strategic way of reorienting thinking about Pepys's *Diary*. As the passages quoted above from 'Pepys's *Diary*' illustrate, in terms of the content of abridgments - which includes the first edition - the notion of performance applies in a fairly obvious way. But seeing *all* editions of Pepys's *Diary* as performances also serves as a corrective to the idea that the Latham-Matthews edition, newly republished in paperback, can be regarded as a final, or definitive edition. Within my definition of the relationship between manuscript and publication, it, too, has the status of a performance, with all the marks of current preoccupations and taste which contribute to the making of any performance. To state an obvious and general case, all editions of Pepys's *Diary* are themselves the material embodiments of acts of interpretation and mediation of the manuscript. I

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<sup>37</sup>See Michelle Perrot (ed.) *A History of Private Life, Vol. IV - From the fires of Revolution to the Great War* (Harvard University Press, 1990) "Introduction" by Perrot and *passim*.



say this is the general case, because to some extent a gap between manuscript and published text always exists, though I want to argue that there are degrees of mediation and what makes the concept of performance (as realisation) particularly applicable to Pepys's *Diary* is the high degree of overt mediation necessary to bring it to a publishable state. Jerome McGann has drawn attention to the simple but useful idea that "an author's work possesses autonomy only when it remains an unheard melody".<sup>38</sup> Or, to put the emphasis on the activating process of reading, as Peter Shillingsberg says, the closed book "remains potential until someone reads it".<sup>39</sup> McGann further says that no process of preparing a manuscript for publication is without a series of interventions, which can be seen as "a process of training ...[the work] for its appearances in the world".<sup>40</sup>

Pepys's *Diary* made its first appearance in the world one-hundred-and-fifty years after it was written. Until that time it had remained "potential", an "unheard melody". What this separation in time highlights is the degree to which the first edition was a product of the third decade of the nineteenth century. There are several reasons for this. Because the text had not been published in Pepys's own time, there was no continuity of transmission between the seventeenth-century and the nineteenth century. If there had been a publication from Pepys's time, we might have seen how those who shared Pepys's own culture constituted (or interpreted) his text as a publication. (As I will point out below, this might have made a difference to the interpretation of the shorthand.) But there is another difference. If the text had been published in Pepys's own

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<sup>38</sup>Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual criticism*, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1983) p. 47.

<sup>39</sup>Shillingsberg, "Text as Matter, Concept, and Action", p. 32.

<sup>40</sup>McGann p. 49.

time it would not have been a historical text. In 1825, however, as a new publication of a seventeenth-century diary, it was automatically constituted in such a way that it signified its historicity to readers. The relationship between the nature of editions and changing historical perspective is one of the keys to understanding the publishing history of Pepys's *Diary*. The current Latham-Matthews edition, with its massive, somewhat overdetermined structure of annotation, companion essays and its scholarly demeanour looks like an attempt to use the text to create a 'total history' of the 1660s. In this way, it makes its own statement about our own distance from Pepys's time and our concern, different from that of 1825, to 'authenticate' the past with scholarly detail.

Leaving this to one side, however, the changed relationship between text and reader, depending on the reader's historical location, is important and it is a point I want to keep in mind throughout this study. The kind of change I mean can be appreciated by imagining how, in the 1990s, one might produce a play like John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* which, to its first audiences, amongst other things, said something about the here and now of Britain in the 1950s. Any attempt to recapture a 1950s performance, even if only by following to the letter the set and costume designs (described by the playwright in some detail), makes the play stand in quite a different relationship to a current audience than it did to its original audiences. To a large degree it becomes a historical performance, signalling that its concerns are not with the here and now, but with the there and then *in relation to* the here and now. Or, of course, the play could be done in such a way that it attempts to recapture the relationship which existed between it and the audience of the 1950s. Both these suggestions are rather schematic and ultimately impossible to achieve, nevertheless, they illustrate the essential relational changes

brought about with time. In the case of Pepys's *Diary*, the second of these suggestions cannot even be contemplated. There was no relationship between the text and a seventeenth century readership to reconstruct. But the first kind of relationship does seem relevant. To readers in 1825, with new concerns about the past and its relation to a fast-changing present, Pepys's *Diary* spoke about the there and then of seventeenth-century London *in relation to* the here and now.

This leads to the difficult question of intentionality. Central to nineteenth-century interpretations of Pepys's *Diary* was the idea that Pepys did not intend the text to be published, or even read, and that it was "for his eyes only." The shorthand, for a long time considered to be a private code of the writer's own invention, is generally cited as proof of this. More important, however, is the argument that any intention on the writer's part to publish would have compromised the confessional honesty that is seen to be the work's chief appeal, by the self-conscious awareness of an audience. But this leads to an interesting complication in our reading of the relationship between the text and its readership. Lord Braybrooke brought out his first edition of the *Diary* under the stated conviction that the work had been written "*for the exclusive perusal of the Author.*" (Emphasis mine.) And as I shall rather tiresomely reiterate throughout this study, readers accepted this idea with alacrity. But if what Braybrooke says is absolutely true, that is, Pepys wrote with no intention whatsoever of having anybody else read the text, then in Braybrooke's own terms, the act of publication is a massive violation of the integrity of the manuscript as manifest intention. To this degree, the publication, by its very existence, embodies a contradiction not inherent in the manuscript. But if we think about this in another way, by insisting on the privacy of the text, Braybrooke and his readers are positioning



themselves relative to the text, even if in a somewhat voyeuristic way. Furthermore, whatever intentionality can now be said to exist with the manuscript belongs not to the author Samuel Pepys, but to those who steer its passage to publication.

If, on the other hand, the writer Samuel Pepys had intended to have the manuscript published, either in his own lifetime, or sometime in the future, or even if, as some have argued since the beginning of the twentieth century, he deliberately preserved the manuscript to the end of his life, carefully depositing it in the library he bequeathed to Magdalene College, in order that it be discovered, read and eventually published, it remains the case that the manuscript is in such a state, that it requires a special (and specialized) effort to bring it to the stage where it could fulfil his intentions. If we take the most extreme case, it could be said that even if the writer Samuel Pepys had had an intention to publish at the front of his consciousness *as he was writing* (rather than after the fact) he could not have used a language, or written of his world, in a way that guaranteed unmediated intelligibility one-hundred-and-fifty years later, particularly when it is embodied in shorthand.

No matter which of these possibilities applied in 1825, part of this previously unknown text's first appearance in the world involved performing it in such a way that it stood in a certain relationship to its readers - as a text which signified a past world (despite, one could say, its 'presence' to itself) and as a text which had not been written - in its own time - for what it had now become - a publication.

But at the actual verbal level, the idea of performance is particularly pertinent to this shorthand manuscript. The musical analogy I wish to employ in illuminating the idea that editions of Pepys can sensibly be regarded as performances arises first of all from the need to

transcribe the shorthand. The score of a piece of music does not become actual music until it is realised in performance. Strictly speaking, musical notation is not, in itself, music, but black dots and squiggles which give directions to a performer. Importantly, and this is also the case with Pepys's *Diary*, there can never be an exact, one-to-one, fixed, or defined correspondence between musical notation and the performances realised from that notation. The degree to which realisation of the music depends on the performer may be different with different kinds of music. Performers of baroque music, for example, may have nothing more than a figured bass to go on, whereas composers in the nineteenth century attempted to control, or limit performance variables by giving more details (speed, detailed expression and so on). The notation of baroque music, therefore, allows a greater degree of improvisation on the part of the performer than nineteenth century music. In all cases, however, a greater or lesser degree of mediation is required to give the dormant "unheard melody" its appearance in the world as music. As Shillingsberg suggests in making an analogy between textual production and musical performance similar to my own argument, "the documentary musical score and the musical performances it enables are separate though related referents; likewise the Material Text and the Reception Performances it enables are separate though related".<sup>41</sup> Shillingsberg distinguishes different stages of "performance" such as those between manuscript and editor, published text and reader. The reader of the publication "realises" or "performs" the text. The editor similarly performs the manuscript, though to a different end - that is, to make the manuscript transmissible to other readers.

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<sup>41</sup> Shillingsberg, "Text as Matter, Concept, and Action", p.61.

Because of the kind of shorthand in which it is written, Pepys's manuscript, like baroque music, has an element of indeterminacy, and requires a more than usual amount of mediation, for a text, to bring it to the stage of publication, or to 'perform' it. This foregrounds the whole complex process of editing - to employ the term editing to cover several stages of the process between shorthand manuscript and edition - and highlights the extent to which editing a text, or performing a text, involves intellectual, cultural and material mediations. John Smith, the first transcriber (or performer) of Pepys's manuscript pertinently commented in a letter to the *Illustrated London News* many years later, that it had been his task to "make the MS legible".<sup>42</sup> Without the aid of a handbook to the shorthand, Smith laboured for three years bringing the manuscript's 'notation' into everyday language.<sup>43</sup> Because of this, the short but exact comment just quoted, carries with it a deep recognition of the 'performative' nature of his task. Had the manuscript allowed an easy one-to-one correspondence between shorthand symbols and words, his task would have been easier. But the shorthand, like musical notation, had to be interpreted and transformed into another medium of communication. Without Smith's act of mediation, the manuscript would not only have remained unread, but unreadable.

Pepys used a modified form of shorthand learned from Shelton's *Short Writing* (1626) and *Tachygraphy* (1642).<sup>44</sup> The shorthand requires both the skill and endurance of a transcriber to bring it into a publishable state. As Robert Latham and William Matthews point out (and Edwin Chappell before them) the nature of the shorthand used by Pepys prevents the possibility of making a completely accurate transcription.

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<sup>42</sup> *Illustrated London News*

<sup>43</sup> See L-M. Vol. 1. p.lxxvii.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* pp. xlvi-liv.



(Latham and Matthews tend to understate the difficulties, however, assuming that sufficiently careful scholarship will eradicate most doubts. But this kind of understatement is also part of the 'rhetoric' of the edition which aims to appear as complete and scholarly as possible.) There will always be a degree of guesswork dependent on the transcriber's knowledge of late seventeenth-century English. A source of possible error in transcription "lies in the transcriber and arises from a combination of shorthand and unfamiliarity on the transcriber's part with words and things familiar in the time the shorthand was written".<sup>45</sup> This kind of statement emphasises the performative, or interpretive, nature of the task and its relationship to present 'knowledge'.

While Shelton's system of shorthand was popular in the second half of the seventeenth century, it seems to have fallen out of use in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> It was unknown to either John Smith or Braybrooke in the early nineteenth century, so that they believed it to be Pepys's own private code.

The shortcomings of the shorthand have been extensively elaborated both by Edward Chappell<sup>47</sup> and William Matthews<sup>48</sup> so there is no need to give anything more than a brief outline of the problems insofar as they are pertinent to my argument. The main point to be made is that the elliptical nature of the shorthand, whereby words are frequently only indicated by their first syllables, means that transcribing it is dependent on an understanding of seventeenth century usage. Two examples can be given here by quoting from Matthews:

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* p.liv.

<sup>46</sup> William Matthews makes an important point which offers a corrective to the idea that Pepys wrote in a private code: "Shelton's system in his *Short Writing* was new, but by no means radical therefore. Nevertheless, it proved practical and in time extraordinarily popular". (L-M, Vol.1, p.xlix.) Furthermore, "under its two titles, *Short Writing* and *Tachygraphy*, Shelton's system went into at least twenty-two editions between 1626 and 1710. (p.li.)

<sup>47</sup> *Shorthand Letters of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Edward Chappell, (London, 1933.)

<sup>48</sup> William Matthews, "The Diary" in L-M, Vol.1, pp.li-liv.

It is impossible to be sure whether Pepys had a 'bit' to eat or a 'bite'. It is equally impossible to be sure which of the several allomorphs of 'have' - 'has', 'hath', 'have', 'had' - is represented by the *h*-symbol which stands for them all.<sup>49</sup>

The elliptical nature of the shorthand could possibly explain why it fell out of use. It may be that Shelton's system was not sufficiently sophisticated to be adaptable to changes in the language. In other words, it does not stand in an external ('objective') relationship to the historically specific language it was first designed to represent. Contemporaries of Samuel Pepys would have had far less trouble knowing whether Pepys had written 'has', 'hath', 'have' or 'had', because Shelton's system is a shorthand signal to a shared language, but for transcribers separated from the period by a considerable time span, for whom this language is now archaic, "making the MS legible" is a matter of *recovering* a past language.

Aspects of the present from which that past language is viewed play their part here. One of the keys to understanding the history of Pepys's *Diary* is to see - with the first edition in particular - that the shape of any edition is influenced by a need to present the text in such a way that it signifies historical specificity. As I suggested above, this is not something which is fixed - the past stands in different relationships to shifting present concerns so that what signifies the historical specificity of the 1660s to people in 1825 can be quite different from what signifies the historical specificity of the 1660s to us in the 1990s. In other words the content of historical specificity, what aspects of the past are highlighted in order to signify historicity, may be different in different times. For example, as I will indicate in chapter three, for readers in 1825, the kind of

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<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* pp. liii-liv

interest in clothing evinced by Pepys's *Diary* signified the text's historical specificity in a very particular way. It was much more than a matter of differences in fashion; it was a matter of attitude towards dress and its relationship to differences between men and women. What readers at that time saw as Pepys's over-interest in dress signified a range of differences between past and present society, including a kind of effeminacy foreign to men of Pepys's own time. Not just dress itself, therefore, but an attitude towards dress signified the text's historicity in its difference from the present. (It should perhaps be said here that the progressivist historical ideas taking hold at the time of the publication of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* may well have led to seeking out and exaggerating differences at the expense of similarities. In this formulation, it may not simply be that the content of historicity changes from age to age, but even the degree of historicity.) What is clear from the first reviews (and as I shall discuss, from the way the first edition was edited) is that in 1825 dress formed a kind of node of historical specificity, with more power to signify difference than some other aspects of the text.

What makes the idea of performing Pepys an appealing concept is that it takes into account 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' elements of the text, and their interactions as part of publication. I put intrinsic and extrinsic in inverted commas because neither has clear boundaries. What may be deemed intrinsic to the text can also be a matter of interpretation, or the imposition of extrinsic factors. For example, as I will discuss at more length below, the ideas that the text was written daily and in secret, were said by nineteenth-century commentators to be judgments made on internal evidence. Yet internal evidence, interpreted differently, can disprove both. And these judgments ultimately depend on extrinsic factors such as structures of belief about reality and objectivity.



So far I have sketched two ways in which editions of Pepys's *Diary* may be conceptualised as performances of the manuscript. First, the way the text stands in relation to readers is a matter of historical relativity. This includes the current Latham-Matthews edition which, in order to position readers historically in relation to the text - to give readers a context for reading - includes so much more than the text of the diary. Readers and audiences form part of the whole in terms of a performance. Secondly, I have discussed the idea of performance as realisation of the manuscript at the verbal level - making the MS legible. I want to conclude this introduction with a description of another aspect of the performance of Pepys's *Diary*, one that seems to indicate a far more conscious act of shaping on the part of the first editor, but which was much more a matter of collusion between the editor and his times.

In order to understand the meaning of Pepys's *Diary* as a cultural phenomenon we need to see the cultural and intellectual underpinnings of what appear to be areas of persistent confusion and ambiguity. On the one hand, readers first came to know Pepys's *Diary* through Braybrooke's editing, either with very little, or misleading, information attached to it. So, certain beliefs - that, for example, it was regularly written each day, a day a time (something we now know not to be the case) - became established on the basis of Braybrooke's early editions. The *Edinburgh Review*, for example, in its review of Braybrooke's third (1848) edition believed that "internal evidence suggests Pepys acquired a daily habit [of writing]". It was a commonly held belief in part springing from Braybrooke's preface, but also from the way the text was presented. I will suggest in chapter three that the text as edited was made to give this impression 'internally' by selective excisions. On the other hand, prevailing beliefs about a range of cultural phenomena - selfhood,

privacy, literary-generic distinctions and history, among others - have shaped and often limited readers' ways of construing the text. In other words, readers have been predisposed, or culturally conditioned, to read the text in certain ways. So that while the belief that Pepys wrote his diary entries a day at a time, and at the end of each day before going to bed may be sheeted home to Braybrooke, it can be argued that Braybrooke was only supplying readers with what they wanted to believe on the basis of deeper cultural assumptions. There is clear internal evidence to suggest that Pepys frequently (and quite possibly more often than not), wrote up chunks of the text, sometimes weeks at a time. There are nearly one hundred references to doing so throughout the *Diary*. More than that, however, as William Matthews has pointed out, the manuscript itself shows clear evidence that Pepys's method of composition was less often a matter of making daily entries than even these one hundred internal references suggest. Matthews's remarkably revealing and sensitive analysis of Pepys's methods of composition in his essay "The *Diary* as Literature" does not need repeating here, but it forms the background to many of my comments. Taking my cue from this essay I examined the manuscript myself with the aim of seeing what it revealed in terms of composition. The following statement by Matthews made sense to me once I inspected the manuscript:

Differences in ink and penmanship are striking. The ink varies between black and light brown and shorthand symbols differ from section to section in size, sharpness, and angling, and the lines are spaced differently. These differences often run in blocks, and they tend to suggest that the entries were commonly made by series of days. These series sometimes agree with the blocks of entries mentioned by the diarist himself, but very often they disagree, and the discrepancies seem to indicate that much of the diary may once have existed in two versions: one, a rough copy that Pepys

destroyed, possibly section by section as he entered it into the diary-books; the other the final manuscript.<sup>50</sup>

The differences noted by Matthews are indeed striking. I attempted myself to analyse the changes in ink and penmanship through the whole manuscript. I did this with a copy of each of the major editions and two transcriptions beside me - John Smith's handwritten transcription, the first edition made from that transcription (1825), the third edition (1848), the Mynors Bright edition and the interleaved copy of Braybrooke's 1854 edition in which Bright had handwritten his corrections and additional material, the Wheatley edition and the Latham-Matthews edition. Initially, I undertook this task in order to corroborate Matthews's statement and to test whether it was possible for someone who is not an expert, to distinguish chunks of entries. In the first place this led to a much deeper understanding of the complexity of Pepys's manuscript, and the difficulty of preparing it for publication. It also led me to conceptualise publication as 'performance'. In addition to the reasons outlined above with regard to 'realising' the shorthand, the idea of performance also arose from seeing that one or two other possibilities for creating different kinds of publication lay dormant in the manuscript. Whether or not these remain within the bounds of practicability is yet to be seen, but the fact that they are conceivable and plausible in an abstract way, and that if realised, would bring to the surface aspects which are 'there' in the text, indicates that no single publication can claim definitiveness. As yet, no publication has exhausted the manuscript's potentiality. In my conclusion, I will propose one possible new performance of Pepys's *Diary* based on my examination of the manuscript.

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<sup>50</sup>*ibid.* p. xcix.



The kind of compositional practice outlined by William Matthews, whereby the manuscript reveals, both through explicit reference and through its appearance on the page, that it was far from Pepys's invariable habit to enter every day, a day at a time, forms the foundational observation from which this study takes its argument. Braybrooke's editions studiously avoided giving any information which suggested that it was entered in any way *other than* every day, a day at a time. Also reviewers' comments about the Pepys's *Diary* show a very high degree of collusion with the idea, initially seeming to come from Braybrooke, that Pepys's *Diary* derives a large part of its value from having been entered every day, a day at a time.

One of the most vivid conclusions I drew from my examination of the manuscript, noting as carefully as I could when I thought each entry might have been made, while simultaneously cross-checking the transcriptions and editions, was that despite his claim to have "preserved the original meaning", Braybrooke's first edition is not only severely abridged in terms of the amount of text published, but it is selectively abridged, in the image, I want to propose, of what he considered an authentic diary should be. As I will show in chapter three, quite significant patterns emerge in Braybrooke's excisions. His editions clearly signal to the reader that the text was written a day at a time.

Yet, while the Latham-Matthews edition gives a very detailed account of both the quality of Smith's transcription and of Braybrooke's editorial methods, no-one has produced an interpretative study of Braybrooke's editing, or of the relationship of his editions to the social and intellectual climate in which they were constituted. This seems to be an interesting line to follow, especially as Pepys's *Diary* was so enormously popular in the nineteenth century, and because the claims for truth and

realism made for it make it a receptacle of a number of strands of nineteenth-century thought.

It may be, as Latham and Matthews suggest, that scholarly editing was not as highly developed in the early nineteenth century as it is now and certainly Pepys's text was treated no worse than that of Evelyn or Reresby. Andrew Browning points out in the preface to his edition of the *Memoirs of John Reresby* (1936) that his text, the *Diary* of John Evelyn and the *Diary* of Pepys "have suffered a curiously similar fate" in that all were originally published in an "abbreviated and inaccurate form, they have undergone much amplification and correction, and passed through many editions, without ever appearing in a shape sufficiently complete and exact to satisfy historians".<sup>51</sup> As I shall indicate in the first chapter, there is some point in associating these three texts, not only because they were memoirs about the middle to later seventeenth century, but because they were published within twelve years of each other (Reresby, 1813; Evelyn, 1818; Pepys, 1825), at a time when memoirs from the past were only beginning to attract substantial public interest, and they were also published in a very similar material form. Browning's statement cannot be ignored, and while this study focuses on Pepys's *Diary* and the way it was constituted within the early nineteenth century for reasons particular to Pepys's text, much of what I say could also be applied to the Reresby and Evelyn publications.

Before leaving the question of how Pepys might have composed the manuscript, it is interesting to note that while readers of Braybrooke's editions were misled both by the information given by him and by the shape of the text, the idea that Pepys wrote daily was not overturned

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<sup>51</sup> Andrew Browning (Ed.), *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby: The Complete Text and a Selection from his Letters*, (Jackson, Son and Co., Glasgow, 1936.) p.v.

when Bright's and Wheatley's editions appeared. (Bright also excluded many of these internal references, but included enough to be noticeable.) Why was this the case? Other aspects of the new editions caught readers' attention, but no commentators in the nineteenth century thought it worth questioning whether Pepys really did write a day at a time. In fact, it is only in the last twenty years, that this aspect of the text has begun to receive critical attention, most notably by Robert Fothergill in his study of diaries, *Private Chronicles*. Fothergill observes that the popular conception of Pepys is that he wrote every day. But from a revised estimate of the diarist's compositional methods, Fothergill draws an interesting conclusion. We cannot think of Pepys's text as the product of "calculated artifice" but, Fothergill suggests, far from receiving its shape from mere habit, Pepys used the "diary format" - that is the *appearance* of day-to-day entries, "as a vehicle for autobiography".<sup>52</sup> Prior to this comment is a long history in which readers attended to some aspects of the text and not to others. It did not fit nineteenth-century (or early twentieth-century) ideas about transparency, truth, or realism, to see in Pepys's *Diary* a more complex and self-referential text, one that, as Fothergill suggests, has been given a form by the writer. It is equally true that in the late twentieth century, when we no longer believe in a literature which transcribes an objective reality, our own predispositions direct our attentions to just those elements in Pepys's *Diary* which highlight its textuality.

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<sup>52</sup> Fothergill, *Private Chronicles*, p.43.



One.

## THE REAL PEPYS.

14 East 95th St.  
October 15, 1951

WHAT KIND OF A PEPYS' DIARY DO YOU CALL THIS?

this is not pepys' diary, this is some busybody editor's miserable collection of EXCERPTS from pepys' diary may he rot.

i could just spit.

where is jan. 12, 1668, where his wife chased him out of bed around the bedroom with a red-hot poker?

where is sir w. pen's son that was giving everybody so much trouble with his Quaker notions? ONE mention does he get in this whole pseudo-book. and me from philadelphia.

i enclose two limp singles, i will make do with this thing till you find me a real Pepys. THEN i will rip up this ersatz book page by page, AND WRAP THINGS IN IT.

HH

Helene Hanff 84 Charing Cross Road.(p.35)

Helene Hanff's frustrated response to the edition of Pepys's *Diary* sent her by Frank Doel resonates within a longer history. For her, there is a real Pepys and an ersatz book, and it is highly significant that she substitutes "real Pepys" for what her second sentence (with its angry dismissal of a collection of excerpts), indicates she means: "a complete edition of Pepys's *Diary*." It has become an established part of the discourse on Pepys's *Diary* to treat the man (the writer) and the text as synonymous. "Pepys" for "Pepys's *Diary*", "real Pepys" for "complete edition" - the first in each of these pairs of terms seems only to function as a self-explanatory shorthand. But they are terms which arise from a history of interpretation and from the conceptual framework placed around the text from its earliest publication. In other words, they are terms which say something quite deep about how the text has been perceived. Understanding why "Pepys" is the metonymic substitute for

"Pepys's *Diary*", why the "real Pepys" refers to both text and man, is therefore, a central theme of this study.

Ambiguous as these terms are, in the critical commentary about Pepys's *Diary* which follows, I wish to let their ambiguity stand. One of the reasons for beginning this study with an account of the publishing history of Pepys's *Diary* is that I wish to demonstrate the degree to which a history of confusion and misunderstandings about the status of different editions intertwines with readers' expectations and predispositions. In the 1930s, Edwin Chappell, something of a champion of the Pepysian cause, railed against the perpetuation of myths and misinformation concerning Pepys's *Diary*. His particular targets, as I shall discuss later, were the continuing publication of both the first and third Braybrooke editions, and the persistently expressed belief that Pepys wrote in a private cipher. Chappell's conclusion regarding the persistence of the second "myth", that Pepys wrote in a private code, is that the British public loves the aura of mystery. But Chappell's crusading spirit does not allow him to see that the persistence of the Braybrooke editions must in part have been based on public demand. Why did such a demand exist, when "better" editions of the text were available?

In the first part of the chapter I describe responses to what I called in the introduction, the major editions, that is the first Braybrooke edition of 1825, the third Braybrooke edition of 1848, the Mynors Bright edition of 1875-1879, the Henry Wheatley edition of 1893-1896, and the current Latham-Matthews edition, 1970-1983. These responses illustrate not only confusion about the textual status of each edition in relation to the manuscript, but confusion with regard to critical terminology. The idea of a "real Pepys", while seeming to be based on something concrete and quantifiable - that is, a full and definitive edition - can be seen, in the

history of publication and reception, to be more elusive than it might appear.

Had Helene Hanff requested a "real Pepys" twenty years later, she would have been seeking quite a different publication, for in 1970, the first three volumes of the current Robert Latham and William Matthews *Diary of Samuel Pepys* were published - a new measure of the "real Pepys". The headline on the front page of the *Times Literary Supplement* announced the publication in terms which suggest a final, complete edition, an edition which forms a kind of end point in a historical series: "Samuel Pepys's Diary at Last Transcribed and Annotated in Full"<sup>1</sup>. The "at Last" and "in Full" of this fanfare suggest the achievement of an overdue "definitive" edition, one which will permanently eclipse all others. It also wrongly implies that past incomplete editions were the result of incomplete transcriptions, when in fact the first (1825) edition was the abridgment of an almost complete transcription, barring the passages deemed indecent.<sup>2</sup> In a book published after the appearance of the first volumes of the Latham-Matthews edition, but which must have been written before its release, John Hearsey notes in *Young Mr. Pepys* that "The complete and unexpurgated Diary is now in course of publication in a definitive and scholarly edition".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, No. 3586, 20 November 1970, p.1341.

<sup>2</sup> John Smith did not have Shelton's *Tachygraphy* to help him, and can justifiably be called the *decipherer* of the MS., He had a system whereby the passages he considered indecent were omitted from the body of the transcript. In volume 5, pt.1. of his transcript held in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, opposite page 40 containing the passage for 16 January, 1664, is the following note "There occurs here for the first time a strange mixture of French, Latin and English words all in one sentence descriptive of a private amour. Now as these passages if deciphered would even then be somewhat difficult to make out fully, I have judged it proper to omit inserting them in this Transcript; and this I do from the nature and meaning of these passages conceive to be the best method. And I shall hereafter, whenever such occur again, designate the same by placing a letter in a bracket (thus (A)) where the omission is made: and on the opposite page express the omission by the word. *objectionable*, viz. (A Obj:)J.S."

<sup>3</sup> John Hearsey, *Young Mr. Pepys* (History Book Club, London, 1973) p.271.



The following survey of the publishing history of the text shows why the new edition attracts the claim of definitiveness, but it also shows how often in the past, with successive publications of Pepys's *Diary*, readers had believed themselves to be in possession of an edition which was as near to complete as it was possible to get. It also makes more sense of the argument of this study not to see the current edition as the 'final' point in a series. The Latham-Matthews edition of Pepys's *Diary*, while 'complete' in the sense that it is the first edition to print all of the manuscript, cannot be regarded as a definitive edition. This is not to say that it is deficient, or defective, but that it, too, is one of many possible performances. To begin with, it is possible to conceive of a time in the future when the idea of what constitutes a 'definitive' (or even complete) edition could change, and may, for example, preclude the text's being propped up by the massive structure of annotation surrounding and supporting the Latham-Matthews edition. There is no reason why a 'definitive' (or 'authentic') edition should not consist of anything more than a facsimile of the shorthand manuscript. Other editions, other performances, 'true' to different aspects of the manuscript can be produced. The point of saying this is to put a different spin on nineteenth-century editions. Rather than seeing them in teleological terms, I want to look at how the form Braybrooke's editions took depended on nineteenth century ideas about what a diary should be, about how a diary from the past should signal its genuineness, and about history itself.

The point of raising this issue here, is to highlight the notion that any attribution of definitiveness to an edition (as to a performance of music, or of a Shakespeare play) involves a degree of synchronicity between current preoccupations and the nature of the performance itself. Viewed this way, one can see that the attribution of definitiveness, implies

a degree of suppression, in the same way, for example, that a 'good' historical film, at the time of its first release, allows its audience to see it as an 'authentic' representation of the past, by excluding from consciousness precisely the current assumptions and preoccupations which to audiences in twenty or thirty years time will give it the indelible stamp of the times in which it was made. (In a sense, it is the mark of that stamp on Braybrooke's editions that I want to look at in this study.) While seeming to proceed on a 'scientific' textual basis, editors of so-called definitive editions are in fact positing an essence in the work. This is, of course, an act of interpretation, just as subject to current preoccupations as any other act of interpretation. What becomes interesting, then, in the history of the publication of Pepys's *Diary*, is not a progressive move towards a definitive, or final, edition, but the relationship between prevailing cultural conditions and the nature of any edition which those conditions allow, prompt, or give rise to - and that includes the Latham-Matthews edition. Care needs to be taken here not to think of the operation of cultural assumptions and preoccupations in deterministic terms. I would suggest, for example, that the particular form Braybrooke's first edition assumed can be explained by cultural and intellectual conditions operating in the early part of the nineteenth century, and to the extent that this is so, this edition is a product of its times. Nevertheless, some of the criticisms Braybrooke received show that other editors of the time might have marshalled those (limiting) cultural conditions differently.

Prior to the publication of the Latham-Matthews edition, the last major edition of Pepys's *Diary* had been edited by Henry Wheatley and first published between 1893-6.<sup>4</sup> In a review of this edition, the

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<sup>4</sup> *The diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S., Clerk of the Acts and Secretary to the Admiralty, transcribed from the shorthand manuscript in the Pepysian Library Magdalene College Cambridge by the Rev. Mynors Bright M.A., late fellow and President of the College. With Lord*

anonymous writer in the *Quarterly Review* (1896) said: "To Mr. Wheatley ... a debt of gratitude is due. In his pages we are able for the first time to read the *actual* diary."<sup>5</sup> In an essay published in 1900 entitled "The Real Pepys", Charles Whibley suggests that in Wheatley's edition "at last we are face to face with the real Pepys."<sup>6</sup> Here, quite clearly, Whibley superimposes man and text. The sense of being in the presence of the actual man is intensified by the phrase "face to face", and it is the perceived 'completeness' of the text which creates this illusion. Moreover, the statement implies that in its fulness, or completeness, the text has become an absolutely transparent (unmediated) signifier of the actual living man, Samuel Pepys. As with the *TLS* headline proclaiming the Latham-Matthews edition, Whibley's "at last" expresses a sense of belatedness. The *Gentleman's Magazine* had similarly said of Wheatley's edition a few years earlier: "Pepys for the first time reveals himself fully to us".<sup>7</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Again, the man Samuel Pepys is equated with the *Diary* which constitutes him. More than that, the fulness of this new edition, when compared with all previous editions, is spoken of as 'total' self-revelation. Not only do we get the whole text, but also the whole man.

Barely twenty years earlier, a reviewer of the six-volume *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S.* (1875-1879) edited by Mynors Bright, said in the *Edinburgh Review* :

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*Braybrooke's notes. Edited with additions by Henry B. Wheatley F.S.A. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London, 1893-6.*

<sup>5</sup> J. Hoste, "Diarists of the Restoration", *Quarterly Review*, Vol.183, no.365., January, 1896. p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Whibley, *The Pageantry of Life*, (Heinemann, London, 1900.) p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.281, ii, 1896. p.428.



For nearly sixty years the Diary of Samuel Pepys has been a household word in English literature; it may, therefore, seem almost paradoxical to say that we now read it *for the first time*. And yet this is the simple truth, for we have now, what we have never had before, the *correct* and *complete* text. ... If Mr Mynors Bright had done nothing more than induce us to read once again the Diary, even as we have long known it, we should still owe him a debt of gratitude. But he has in fact, done very much more than this; he has given us the Diary *as it was written*, with the omission of but a few passages ...  
8 (Emphasis mine.)

The *Quarterly Review* claimed that "with painstaking labour [Bright] has redeciphered the whole text of Pepys's memoirs, and has printed it in the annalist's *own words*."<sup>9</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

The entry on Pepys in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1884) noted that compared with Bright's recent edition, all previous editions "are of slight value."<sup>10</sup> After the publication of the first volume of his edition Bright received a congratulatory letter from a schoolmaster calling himself "simply a reader" who said that compared with previous editions "the new matter is as flesh to the bones and imparts to one of the most realistic books in the world a greatly increased vividness."<sup>11</sup>

Earlier still, in 1849, in the first of a series of articles called "Annalists of the Restoration" in the *Dublin University Magazine*, the most recent edition of Pepys's *Diary* (the third edited by Braybrooke) was said to be, in comparison with the two previous editions, "an absolutely new work".<sup>12</sup> And in a review of this edition which nevertheless contains some adverse comments, the *Athenaeum* said, "This, the third edition of the best

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<sup>8</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 152, July 1880. p.223.

<sup>9</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 147, no.294, 1879, p. 430.

<sup>10</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Ed. (1884) Vol. XVIII, p.521.

<sup>11</sup> From the original in the Pepys Library MBP I *Correspondence about the publication of Pepys's Diary 1874-1882*. H. Candler to Bright. dated 4 Nov. 1875.

<sup>12</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. 34, November, 1849. p.612.

book of its kind in the English language, is ... the only *true* edition of the book".<sup>13</sup> (Emphasis mine.) This is, of course, a comparative, rather than an absolute statement, but the use of the word "true" implies that the reviewer believed Braybrooke's third edition to be something like an accurate representation of the original manuscript. The *Edinburgh Review* reserved some suspicion about the material still held back from publication claiming that after reading Braybrooke's third it became obvious that in the first edition of 1825 "the most valuable and *characteristic* portion of the Diary was often that which was suppressed."<sup>14</sup> (Emphasis mine in both quotations.) While these reservations were well-founded (since Braybrooke's third edition still only printed about two-fifths of the manuscript) the idea that the new material comprised what was most *characteristic* suggests that in this edition there has been a shift in the centre of interest and that for this reviewer, as for the *Dublin University Magazine* it is an absolutely new work.

The idea that there can be more or less characteristic material in the text also implies that reviewer posits some kind of essence. A number of editors, most notably Braybrooke in the first edition (1825) and Robert Latham in *The Shorter Pepys* (1985) - though there have been many others - have organised their selections around their perception of an essence in the text. Needless to say, what is seen as the essence, or chief centre of interest, varies from editor to editor (and from performance to performance). The editor of a small volume of excerpts, Horace Pym, stated in his introduction that in making his selection of passages "preference has been given those entries describing the social and domestic life of the times, to the almost entire exclusion of what relate to

<sup>13</sup> *Athenaeum*, No. 1075, June 3, 1849. p.549

<sup>14</sup> *Edinburgh Review*. October 1849, no.90, p.556.

the political and business surroundings".<sup>15</sup> And in a frequently reprinted book of selected passages, comparable in length to Braybrooke's first edition, *Everybody's Pepys*, O.F. Morshead says that as an abridgment, Braybrooke's last edition "faithfully reflects the taste of the period from which it dates".<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, Morshead does not make a statement about his own editorial rationale, but this quotation admits a relationship between contemporary taste and the content of an abridgment.

Each new major edition has been welcomed with comments suggesting that "Pepys" can now be read afresh, as if for the first time, and this, in turn, leads to the perception of a fuller revelation of the man writing the *Diary*. Clearly, at each stage, commentators' responses to each new edition were provoked by the noticeable difference between what they now read, and what had come before. This explains, for example, the reactions to Braybrooke's third edition, which, though still less than half the manuscript, gave the impression of being near-complete when contrasted with the first two editions.

The most straightforward explanation, then, for these pronouncements is that after the first severely abridged publication of 1825 which printed only about two-fifths of the manuscript, each new major edition of Pepys's *Diary* included more text than its predecessor, culminating in the current Latham-Matthews eleven-volume edition, which, according to the preface "includes all words and passages omitted from previous editions, whether by accident or design."<sup>17</sup> With each new edition, from Braybrooke's expanded third edition in 1848 to the present - though with some notable exceptions mentioned below - readers have

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<sup>15</sup> Horace Pym (Ed.), *Excerpts from the Diary of Samuel Pepys*, (Ballantyne, Hanson and Co., London, 1889) p.xviii.

<sup>16</sup> O.F.Morshead (Ed.) *Everybody's Pepys*, (G. Bell and Sons, London, 1926.) p.xvii.

<sup>17</sup> L-M, Vol. I, p. xi



expressed the sense of possessing a "more" real Pepys, because compared with predecessors, a fuller and richer voice spoke from the pages.

Myth It is important to stress here that each new edition did not simply add more bulk to the text, but introduced material different in kind, giving readers the impression of opening up new areas of the text (and therefore of Pepys's life). This can be seen in the responses to the third Braybrooke edition, where the inclusion of what Braybrooke had dismissed in the first edition as trifling occurrences (aspects of Pepys's private and domestic life), caused a shift in what readers saw as the text's centre of interest. Of course, the tenor of these responses needs to be understood in context. Confronted with a new and expanded edition, reviewers are bound to focus more of their attention on the new material, rather than on what had been discussed before. As the next chapter shows, reviewers in the mid century, especially the one for the *Athenaeum*, which ran several articles on the third edition, quite deliberately printed as many of the newly-included passages as possible in order to show how wrong Braybrooke had been to dismiss their interest.

What becomes clear in any account of the history of publication is that it is a history to a large extent shaped by what readers throughout the last one-hundred-and-seventy years have, or have not, known about the status of each edition in relation to the manuscript - a history predicated, in the first place, on a mixture of withheld or half-given information, and smudged definitions. While some of what follows may sometimes appear like a history of deception of the reading public on the part of editors and publishers - and there are certainly elements of that - the histories of both the publication and the reception of Pepys's *Diary* have to be seen as interactive. As I will indicate throughout this study, some ideas, or myths, about Pepys's *Diary* have had remarkable persistence, so that any account

which offers itself as an analytical history of its publication and reception, rather than ignoring these ideas, must seek reasons for their persistence. Myths may be without any foundation in 'fact', but they are not without social meaning and may indicate a great deal about expectations and desires. As I will point out again later in this chapter and in more detail in different contexts in both chapter three and chapter four, the persistent belief that the manuscript was written in a private code for the purposes of concealment is one such 'myth' which the 'facts' should have banished long ago.

Edwin Chappell attributes the persistence of this myth to a desire to deepen "the atmosphere of mystery" around the text.<sup>18</sup> Yet one can go further than this. Close attention to commentary on the *Diary* indicates that because the idea of a private code is nearly always adduced as one of the guarantees of its "truth" it is not just a matter of creating an air of mystery, but a matter of using the notion of privacy to support its "authenticity".

Past accounts of the history of the publication of Pepys's *Diary* have tended to blame what they see as readers' misconceptions on the irresponsibility of former editors, particularly Lord Braybrooke. Braybrooke not only severely abridged his editions, he also failed to give an adequate account of the status of his editions in relation to the manuscript. It could be that this failure to give readers adequate information led to the concentration of their criticisms on abridgment, rather than on other areas of the text. As I will discuss in the next chapter, Braybrooke's reputation as an editor was quite harshly criticised by some journals after the publication of his third edition, and as Robert Latham

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<sup>18</sup> Edwin Chappell "The secrecy of the Diary", a paper read before the Samuel Pepys Club, 24 November, 1933. (PL with compliments of Edwin Chappell). p.3.

points out, it went into an even sharper decline after his death in 1858.<sup>19</sup> The reviewer of Wheatley's edition for the *Atheneum* typifies this late-nineteenth-century attitude to Braybrooke: "...with our knowledge of the acceptance of the book as a classic, it cannot but seem strange, that having the full transcript before him, Lord Braybrooke should have deliberately mutilated it and offered to the public a bare half of the original, which he occasionally translated into his own language".<sup>20</sup> Two decades earlier, the *Quarterly Review* had more mildly impugned Braybrooke's role in bringing Pepys's *Diary* into the world:

Lord Braybrooke evidently had no prevision that Pepys would become a household name amongst us, or that we should ever please ourselves by social sketches drawn from a Pepysian point of view, or by engrafting upon our common talk the Pepysian idiom. Far less could it have been anticipated, that the last point on which the public would quarrel with Pepys was the length of his Diary.<sup>21</sup>

But laying all the blame at the door of Braybrooke, as many late nineteenth-century critics certainly did, does not take account of several important factors. First, Braybrooke, as editor, was himself a reader of Pepys and therefore not outside the cultural conditions he shared with his readers. In chapters three and four in particular, but also in chapter two, I want to suggest that there was a greater degree of correlation between Braybrooke and the attitudes of his readers in 1825, than this late nineteenth-century view suggests. Secondly, blaming Braybrooke tends to treat readers as acted-upon, rather than as active authorities for meaning or understanding. It is therefore interesting in this regard to notice that the explicit correction of previous 'misinformation' about the text

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<sup>19</sup> Robert Latham, "Pepys and his Editors", *University of Leeds Review*, Vol.27, 1984/5. p.124.

<sup>20</sup> *The Atheneum*, No. 3418, April 29, 1893. p.529.

<sup>21</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol.147, 1879. p.430.



(particularly with the publication of Henry Wheatley's edition in the 1890s) has not always led to a corresponding change in readers' conceptions of it. It is as if readers have *wanted* to hold certain beliefs, or myths, about the text, or at least have been predisposed to prefer some ideas over others, and the influence on the history of publication of this 'active' component of reading becomes one of the most interesting areas of exploration.

I suggested as something of an aside earlier in this chapter, that with the passing of time, historical films which had at first given the impression of historical authenticity, show visible traces of the period in which they were made.<sup>22</sup> To be aware of this is to recognise the extent to which current assumptions form a kind of invisible ground upon which we base perceptions of difference. Difference, in other words, is intrinsically related to and shaped by the ground *from which* it becomes different - so that changes in the nature of the ground create changes in the nature and extent of difference. But this also depends on a predisposition. If we believe in historical change, in historicity, then we emphasise and search for historical difference. What becomes apparent with the passing of time is that the ground which seemed invisible was in fact intrinsically part of the construction of difference. The two are in an essential relationship.

All of this is important in relation to Pepys's *Diary* which has been constructed as a public text in an age of historicism. I do not want to digress here too much from the main argument of this chapter, but in order to frame the following discussion and signal the argument of later chapters, I want to suggest that the advent of historicism in early-

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<sup>22</sup> For an extended discussion of this aspect of historical films and their relationship to diverse forms of nineteenth-century historicism, see Stephen Bann *The Clothing of Clio* pp 164-177

nineteenth century thinking not only "created" Pepys's *Diary* as a public text, but influenced the way it has been edited and read ever since. Put briefly, historicism, by attempting to see the past *in its own terms*, foregrounds the difference between the past and the present. Yet this difference *as* difference is constructed on the ground of the present. Because Pepys's *Diary*, I suggest, has always been edited in such a way that its historical specificity is everywhere signified to the reader, we can say, in a general way, that the energies of those transcribing and editing the manuscript have always been engaged in an act of recovery. The idea of recovering a lost past and making that past available and 'legible' to the present is a framing concept for this study. Historicising Pepys's *Diary*, which can be achieved in many different ways, depends on the ground from which its historicity is erected. What this means for the history of Pepys's *Diary* is that it foregrounds what McGann calls "the set of relations which prevail in literary production." In turn, this set of relations can be seen very much to be centred around ideas about recovering the past.

Returning, then, to the main argument, it can be seen that the first stage in this act of recovery works at a linguistic level. Reading the shorthand is not just a matter of understanding symbols, but of making sense of those symbols in relation to a language sufficiently different from present language to require recuperation. There have been three transcriptions of the manuscript - the first by John Smith in the 1820s, the second by Mynors Bright in the 1870s, and the third, principally by William Matthews, in the 1950s and 60s. Each has interpreted the language of Pepys's *Diary* differently.

What follows is a brief outline of what could be called the material history of the text. It does not aim at completeness, but for that reason and because it is an attempt to evaluate the history of the text's appearances in

the world, it is not set out in strict chronological order. The opening theme of this chapter - the "real Pepys" - was elaborated by moving backwards from the present. The chief focal point of this study is the first moment of publication in 1825. As I suggested in the Introduction, I regard Pepys's *Diary* (that is, not the manuscript, but the manuscript in its published form known generically as Pepys's *Diary*) as a nineteenth-century, not a seventeenth-century work. What is therefore of major interest to me is how and why it came into being as a publication - what conditions influenced its first appearance in the world - and what kinds of ideas about the text were established at its first appearance. Understanding that first moment of publication requires approaches from different angles in order to try to isolate its special characteristics. In the following chapters I want to focus on different aspects of the text, its contents, its historical "authenticity" and its overall historical meaning in the early nineteenth century, but for the rest of this chapter I want to recount what is generally for readers a hidden material history of the text. Isaac D'Israeli might have called it a "secret history".

There is not a single line of development from, say, an originally incomplete published version of the text to one that finally presents the whole. It can be seen, for example, from the comments in the second paragraph above concerning Bright's edition of the *Diary*, that reviewers were not only responding to the amplification of the text, but also to the idea that the published text was now free of bowdlerizations and that, unlike previous editions, the printed text gives us the verbally authentic voice of Pepys. Furthermore, the writer makes the point that Bright had redeciphered the whole of the manuscript, thereby implying that earlier editions had been published from an incomplete transcript, when in fact the first edition had been prepared from an almost complete transcript.



But this was a fact that had been obscured by the lack of specific information given by Braybrooke about the relations between the manuscript, the transcription and the published text. As later discussion will show there was a general looseness or vagueness of terminology employed not only by critics, but even by potential publishers of the *Diary* when talking about these relations.

## II.

As the heated debate in the mid 1980s in the pages of both the *New York Review of Books* and the *Times Literary Supplement* over Hans Walter Gabler's edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* demonstrates, editorial decisions cannot be separated from the process of production and reception. In this debate, apparently detached scholarly concerns over textual authenticity have become entangled in questions of editorial motives and the ownership of copyright.<sup>23</sup> When is a text sufficiently different from its previous appearances in print to acquire a new copyright? At the conclusion of his study *The Scandal of Ulysses*, Bruce Arnold accuses the Estate of James Joyce of seeking to "Create fresh copyright in the most profitable work of fiction in the 20th century and did so without adequate regard for scholarship".<sup>24</sup> It cannot be ignored that books are printed to be sold and that in a world of marketing and 'packaging' the purest of scholarly intentions may be compromised by commercial considerations. Perhaps even the claim to be producing a 'definitive' edition is a selling point if the way has been prepared by demonstrating a history of errors.

In the case of Pepys's *Diary* each new major edition has consciously aimed to correct the perceived shortcomings of former editions.

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<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of this whole issue see Bruce Arnold, *The Scandal of Ulysses* (Sinclair-Stevenson, London, 1991).

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p.249

Furthermore, at a number of points along the way, the publishing history of the *Diary* has itself been reformulated according to current preoccupations. But it is only by considering some of the material aspects of its appearances in the world that such things can be discussed. Furthermore, as I have already mentioned, at the end of the nineteenth century, 'Pepys's *Diary*' was available in a number of different editions. Braybrooke's first edition was the one most consistently reprinted. Yet the discrepancy between it and the new Wheatley edition of 1890s was far greater than differences between editions of James Joyce. The history outlined below, however, contains controversy and conflict similar in content to some of the *Ulysses* scandal, if not as public, or protracted. Much of it occurred in letters, out of the public eye.

When the first edition of the *Diary* appeared in the second half of 1825, it was a text that had been abridged and condensed to about a quarter of the original manuscript. Significantly, the format of the publication was the same as that used for the diary of Pepys's contemporary, John Evelyn, which had been first published in 1818. It was also similar in appearance to *The Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby* published in 1813. There was an explicit association of Evelyn and Pepys, in the sense that the success of Bray's edition of Evelyn had led Lord Grenville, in 1818, in possession of a volume of Pepys's manuscript, to suggest to the Master of Magdalene, that if published, Pepys's work would be an "excellent accompaniment to Evelyn's delightful diary."<sup>25</sup> So it is not surprising that the physical form of the first edition of Pepys matched that of Evelyn. As my later discussion of the critical reception of this first edition of Pepys's *Diary* shows, the two works were associated in

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<sup>25</sup> Lord Grenville to George Neville, 21 August, 1818. From PL, Letters Relating to Pepys's *Diary* Bought with the help of the Country Landowners' association, April 1962.

the public's mind, too. Throughout the nineteenth century, they were compared to each other. These comparisons suddenly dropped away in the twentieth century.

Also significant is the actual physical appearance of each of these publications. They were quite different from novels of the time and their size made them more suitable to the study, than the bed-side table. Within the field of publications available at the time the distinctive physical form of these publications has to be understood as in some way signifying. Like the modern 'coffee-table book', their value seems not to have resided only in the text. The preface to the *Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby* suggests that the portraits and engravings contained in the publication "will not only render it more acceptable to any class of reader [but will] enhance the value of the work in the estimation of the collector of prints".<sup>26</sup> The *Gentleman's Magazine* seems to have accepted this proposition. In its review of the publication it suggests:

The Work, which as to paper, printing, &c. is put forth in a style of considerable elegance, is illustrated by upwards of 40 portraits, and other engravings: the Preface adds to the stock of English Biography the Life of Sir John Reresby, the circumstances of which have never before been collected; and the book itself, for its intrinsic merits, will be not less desirable to the collector of a general library, than necessary to that of the English Historian.<sup>27</sup>

The book itself has value apart from the text. We can also notice here the association of books to be collected with the idea of a 'general library'. The two quarto volumes of Pepys's *Diary* published by Henry Colburn were large, lavishly printed and very expensive (£6.6s.). Less richly illustrated than the Reresby, but apparently no less designed to appeal to the collector than to the reader, the physical presentation of the first edition of

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<sup>26</sup> *The Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, (London, 1813) p.v.

<sup>27</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.LXXXIV, pt.1, March 1814. p.251.



Pepys betrays Braybrooke's uncertainty about whether or not the text could stand on its own. Evidence that the text was printed in such a way that it might appeal to the collector is provided by Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* famed for 'puffing' its publisher's new publications. The review of Pepys's *Diary* says that the work will "assuredly form a part of every good general library". The appeal would seem to be partly on the basis of the book's 'collectability', since it is "most creditably executed, the type and paper being excellent, and the illustrative engravings worthy of the artists whose names they bear".<sup>28</sup> Much about this publication has the air of an experiment whose success was not guaranteed. Such an experiment is more likely to sell copies (at least in the first instance) if it is given the added appeal of an attractive item to be possessed, as well as read. Braybrooke seems to have retained this uncertainty even in the face of the text's subsequent critical and popular acclaim. Only the first edition appeared in such a lavish - and what may seem now, unusual - form. The acceptance of the text seems to have meant that from the second edition onwards, it did not need to be cushioned by appearing in a form which gave it extra-textual value.

Comparing the Reresby, Evelyn and Pepys memoirs in their published form also suggests that they belong to a kind of minor genre of miscellaneous memoirs from the seventeenth century. The need to position Pepys's *Diary* within the overall field of texts contributes substantially to the shape and content of the first edition. As I will show in chapter three, the need to authenticate it as a genuine historical memoir affected Braybrooke's edition quite profoundly. What I argue here, is that the physical presentation of the first edition as a book worth owning, is symptomatic of the need for this new text to find its place in the world. In

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<sup>28</sup> *New Monthly Magazine*, Vol.14, pt.II, 1825. p.110.

my chapter "Trifling Details" I want to show how, in the early nineteenth-century, there was an anxiety shared by Braybrooke and his readers, that Pepys's *Diary* (even as published in a severely abridged form) contained too much material which was irrelevant to an understanding of the past, material which was lacking the dignity of history, and to some extent even demeaning to the writer and to readers. Later commentators, as I shall indicate, found this hard to understand - history was best served, many pointed out in the mid-century, by precisely the details Braybrooke excluded as trivial. Pepys's *Diary* appeared at a time when some thought it *might* be interesting historically. And it appeared just at the moment when new ideas about the nature of history were being explored and proclaimed. The point is that the physical form of these books reflect some doubt. They hover uncertainly on the edges of mainstream history, not yet capable of being marketed as serious history. This rapidly changed.

The title-pages of the first editions of Evelyn and Pepys were similar in form identifying each man by his public credentials and suggesting that in both cases the short-title *Memoirs of...* covered not only each man's diary but also a selection of correspondence. In the case of Pepys the title-page read: *The Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary to the Admiralty in the reigns of Charles II and James II. Comprising his diary from 1659 to 1669, deciphered by the Rev. John Smith, A.B. of St. John's College, Cambridge, from the original short-hand manuscript in the Pepysian Library, and a selection from his private correspondence. Edited by Richard, Lord Braybrooke.*<sup>29</sup> The success of the first edition led to a reprint

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<sup>29</sup> The title-page of Evelyn reads: *Memoirs illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S. Author of the 'Sylva,' &c. &c. Comprising his Diary, from the Year 1641 to 1705-6, and a selection of his familiar Letters. To which is subjoined, the private Correspondence between King Charles I. and his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, whilst his Majesty was in Scotland, 1641, and at other times during the Civil War; also between Sir Edward Hyde,*

being issued in 1828. In addition to reissuing the two quarto volumes - this time priced at £5.5s. - the work was also available in five volumes, each one a more portable octavo for a total of £3.10s.

In 1848-9 Braybrooke prepared a new edition, this time adding enough previously omitted text to total two-fifths of the whole. Now significantly short-titled the *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S.*, rather than the inclusive *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys ...*, this edition was cheaper still at £2.12s.6d. for the five octavo volumes. It quickly sold out and was reissued in 1851 priced at £1.10s. In 1854, four years before his death, Braybrooke brought out his fourth edition, this time in four volumes, octavo, with no alteration to the text, but with corrections and improved scholarly apparatus. The first three editions had been published by Colburn, the fourth by Hirst and Blackett. Three more editions of this four volume set were published to the end of the 1850s. It was from the 1854 (fourth) edition that the first American edition of Pepys was published in Philadelphia, 1855.

From this time the publishing history of Pepys's *Diary* becomes more complicated.<sup>30</sup> After years of resistance from the owners of the manuscript, Magdalene College Cambridge, and some of Braybrooke's relatives, the Rev Mynors Bright was given permission in the early 1870s to make a new transcription. From this transcription Bright prepared a new edition which contained far more of the text than any of the previous

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*afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne, Ambassador to the Court of France, in the time of Charles I. and the Usurpation.*

<sup>30</sup>I have based this brief history of publication on a variety of sources, but mostly from letters held in the Pepys Library, and an exchange of letters in the *Illustrated London News*. Some of it also comes from the L-M edition of the *Diary*, and some of it from a 9-page document titled "The Publication of Pepys' Diary" from Magdalene College dated 10 September, 1924 and signed by O.F. Morshead, the editor of *Everybody's Pepys* (1926). Morshead says at the head of the document, "This memorandum is based on a packet of letters which have been deposited, together with the contract with Messrs George Bell and Sons in the locked box containing the Ferrar Papers". I will refer in the footnotes to this document as O.F.M.



editions, but which still fell short of the whole by about a fifth. It was published in six volumes between 1875 and 1879 by Bickers. At Bright's request it only ran to one edition in Britain, but it was reissued several times over the next two decades in America.<sup>31</sup>

This edition was in turn superseded by a near-complete edition still based on Bright's transcription but edited by Henry Wheatley and published by Bell between 1893 and 1896. Although Wheatley's edition immediately became the standard edition of Pepys because of its completeness<sup>32</sup>, the first (1825), third (1848-9) and fourth (1854) Braybrooke editions continued to be republished, often as verbatim reprints, well into the twentieth century. Between 1858 (the year Braybrooke died) and 1939 both the *British Library Catalogue* and the *National Union Catalog* indicate around forty versions of one Braybrooke edition or another were reprinted. In one form or another the text of the first edition was published at least twenty-six times, the third edition came out as a verbatim reprint (with all of Braybrooke's errors intact) seven times between 1890 and 1929 and the fourth edition continued to be published by Bell concurrent with their Wheatley edition until 1904. Sixteen reprints of this edition were made after Braybrooke's death. (There were almost as many republications of the Braybrooke editions in America, some of them exclusively American publications).

At the same time Wheatley's edition continued to be reissued on average every two or three years to the late 1930s. Added to this, there

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<sup>31</sup> See Robert Latham's Introductory essay "Previous Editions" in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* vol.1, p. lxxxviii, and his preface to *The Shorter Pepys* p.xiv, where it is suggested that because of unfavourable reviews criticising Bright's annotation, he insisted on only one thousand copies being printed with no reissues. In America, however, Bright's edition was published at least eight times until 1901.

<sup>32</sup> According to Robert Latham, Wheatley's edition contained many "serious lapses, too numerous to be exemplified in detail ... He omitted, apparently by oversight, substantial passages of the diary, sometimes complete days." L-M, Vol.1, p.xciii.

had been, in the late nineteenth century, a host of other selections and abridgements such as (to name a few) *Peeps into Pepys' Diary* (1883) and the eponymous, but different, *Peeps into Pepys* (1913), *Everybody's Pepys* (1926, 1927, 1947-1954), and *Red letter days of Samuel Pepys* (1910, 1913).

By the time Bright's edition appeared, Pepys's *Diary* as edited by Braybrooke had achieved not only a very wide readership but had acquired its own publishing history. With minor variations, but few exceptions, articles and commentaries on Pepys in the latter part of the nineteenth century began with a rehearsal of this history, recounting the 'discovery' of the manuscript in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, how it came to be 'deciphered' and how Braybrooke had tampered with the text in preparing it for publication. The opening paragraph of the review of the six-volume Bright edition of the *Diary* in the *Edinburgh Review* is typical of the critical attitude generally taken at this time towards Braybrooke:

For nearly sixty years the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys has been a household word in English literature; it may, therefore, seem almost paradoxical to say that we now read it for the first time. And yet this is the simple truth, for we have now, what we never had before, the correct and complete text: correct, for the old and long received version was full of strange blunders of carelessness or misapprehension; complete for the former editor, doubting in the first instance as to the value the public might set upon his labours, printed but a scanty abridgment, and even in the second [i.e. the third (1848-9) edition] suppressed a large proportion of matter, which he described as 'devoid of the slightest interest.' We have now an opportunity of criticising his judgment in this respect; for of the present edition no less than one-fourth of the bulk is published for the first time, and is, we conceive, not a whit inferior to the rest, as illustrating the history or domestic life of the period, and the vanities, peccadilloes, or humours of the journalist.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 152, July 1880, p.223.

Several points of interest arise from this passage. In the first place although it created a lot of interest and was widely, though not universally, acclaimed in literary circles when it was first published, Pepys's *Diary* did not gain a wide *mass* readership until after the publication of Braybrooke's third edition. As a number of reviewers of the first edition were quick to point out the cost of the first edition put it beyond the reach of many readers and its format suggests that Braybrooke envisaged an exclusive readership.

Clearly, as the above quotation suggests, the favourable reception of the diary portion of the first two editions exceeded Braybrooke's expectations. In the preface to the third edition he said that it had "attracted so much notice, and became so generally popular, that every copy of two large editions has long since passed out of the hands of the Publisher". But as the price came down, and as middle-class readership increased in the middle of the century, Pepys became more of a 'household word in English literature'. As Latham and Matthews suggest, "the publishers [of the third, 1848-9 edition] had ... underestimated the hunger of the reading public. This was much the same public as was now greedily reading Macaulay's *History*, whose first volume, appearing at the close of 1848, had sold in tens of thousands like a popular novel".<sup>34</sup> At the end of the 1850s a single volume edition became available for one shilling and was sold on railway bookstands. Unlike the large and unwieldy first edition, the *Diary* was now of a size that enabled it to be read on the train.

In the 1880s Pepys's *Diary* had appeared in Cassell's National Library paperbacks. Each year of the *Diary* was published in a separate volume at 3d. per volume. "The extent of serious reading among the masses after mid-century," notes Richard Altick, "is perhaps best indicated

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<sup>34</sup>L-M, Vol.1, p.lxxv.



by the great sales of the various Cassell culture-at-home publications, headed by the *Popular Educator*, and by the increase in the number of cheap reprint series devoted wholly or in part to the works of standard authors." According to the publishers, Altick adds, Chandos Classics sold over three-and-a-half million volumes between 1868 and 1884.<sup>35</sup> There is probably a great deal of truth, he goes on to point out, in a statement made by Dickens in 1853 that "there are in Birmingham at this moment many working men infinitely better versed in Shakespeare and in Milton than the average of fine gentlemen in the days of bought-and-sold dedications and dear books."<sup>36</sup> In line with the general trend towards cheaper books in the middle of the century and the consequent reprinting of texts regarded as English classics (those that were out of copyright, both fiction and non-fiction) the availability of Pepys's *Diary* to the mass reading public had changed dramatically since it first appeared in "two lordly quartos" for six guineas.

Although the writer of the *Edinburgh Review* article points up the apparent contradiction in saying that while Pepys has been a household word in English Literature for sixty years he is now read for the first time, he nevertheless fails to distinguish between the type of readership and popularity of the different Braybrooke versions of the *Diary* - as mentioned above at least one reviewer called the third edition a "new work" - and also ignores the fact that opinions about the value of Pepys's *Diary* were not the same in 1825 as they had become by the time Bright's edition appeared.

The general tone of the preface to the third edition suggests that Braybrooke was acceding to demands for more of the text with some

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<sup>35</sup> Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: a Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago, 1957) p.243

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*

reluctance. In response to suggestions "from many quarters that, if the Diary should be reprinted, the opportunity of bringing it forth as nearly as possible in its integral shape ought not to be neglected" he says he found 'after once more carefully reading over the whole of the manuscript [by which he means the Smith transcription] that a literal transcript of the Diary was absolutely inadmissible."<sup>37</sup>

While giving in to pressure to print more of the text, Braybrooke took a defensive stand which manifests itself in two ways. In the first place he gives information about the text that can easily mislead the reader. Having rejected the idea of printing a literal transcript, he says that he determined "to insert in its proper place *every passage* that had [previously] been omitted, with the exception *only* of such entries as were devoid of the slightest interest, and many others of so indelicate a character, that no-one with a well-regulated mind will regret their loss". (Emphasis mine.) It is clear from the responses of the reviewers of the first edition that although they were aware that the manuscript had been abridged, they did not know that Braybrooke had published only a quarter. Nothing had appeared in print to dispel this ignorance in the years between the second and third editions. The impression can be easily gained, therefore, from the above quotation that, saving the qualifications of lack of interest and indecency, all omissions have been restored in the third edition.

The basic unit of the *Diary* in Braybrooke's terms is the daily entry. By the term "passage" he therefore means all that is entered under a particular date. Yet not only are many whole "passages" or days still omitted in the third edition, but those that have been added (like those

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<sup>37</sup>From Braybrooke's preface in the verbatim reprint of his third (1848) edition, *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1890 and 1929) p.vi. Hereafter referred to as "Verbatim reprint".

remaining from the first edition) are themselves abridged and condensed. In the first edition the entry for 7 January, 1659/60 was omitted. In the third edition the restored "passage" consists of a single line : "At my office receiving money of the probate of wills." Not only does this fall short of the whole manuscript entry by some two-hundred-and-forty words, but it is a misleading condensation of the opening sentence, which reads:

At my office, as I was receiving money of the probate of Wills, in came Mrs. Turner, Theoph., Madam Morrice, and Joyce; and after I had done I took them home to my house and Mr. Hawly came after, and I got a dish of steaks and a rabbit for them, while they were playing a game or two at cards.<sup>38</sup>

Whole passages and parts of passages must therefore have been omitted on the grounds that they were either devoid of interest or indelicate, but the word *only* in the sentence quoted from Braybrooke, while suggesting that it is this class of passage (and not others) that are omitted, ambiguously hints that the number of such passages is negligible.

Braybrooke's vague statement of his editorial rationale provoked severe doubts in the minds of reviewers as to his fitness to judge what was, or was not, interesting in the text. For most reviewers, the added material was every bit as interesting as what had been published before. But reviewers show some uncertainty as to the extent of the omissions in the third edition. The *Atheneum*, contrasting the newly published third edition with the first, which it describes as "very much cut down", says that the new edition will "appear in its integral shape".<sup>39</sup> There is some confusion here between the notion of shape, in terms of number of daily entries represented, and the completeness of those entries. Similarly, the *Dublin University Magazine* says that Braybrooke had "considerably

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<sup>38</sup> L-M, Vol. 1, p.10.

<sup>39</sup> *Atheneum*, No.1075, 3 June, 1848. p.549.



abridged the narrative" of the first edition and that "even in [the third] edition there are omissions."<sup>40</sup> To say that *even* in this edition there *are* omissions suggests that the writer is unaware that this edition is also *considerably* abridged. The review of the third edition in the *Gentleman's Magazine* concluded by saying that "Lord Braybrooke deserves to be thanked for having yielded so judiciously to the demand for a complete edition."<sup>41</sup>

It is important to emphasise here that by evading any firm statement about his treatment of the text Braybrooke kept readers ignorant of the relationship of the published *Diary* to the manuscript. The writer of the *Edinburgh Review* article quoted above suggests that it is only now (nearly twenty years after Braybrooke's death) with the opportunity for comparison afforded by Bright's edition that the extent of Braybrooke's excisions can be judged.

The other way in which Braybrooke's defensiveness manifests itself in the preface to the third edition also shows him to have been out of step with his readers' valuation of the *Diary*, though he was obviously aware that different opinions existed.

How far the part of the work hitherto unseen will meet the views of those readers who seem to have over-estimated its value, I need not hazard any opinion. Perhaps, having done all in my power to gratify their curiosity, I may be allowed to remind them, that, although a great mass of new matter is diffused throughout the pages, abounding with those quaint and minute details, considered as so amusing and characteristic of the author, and principally relating to scenes of domestic life, it cannot be expected to be of the same *historical value* as the portions originally published.<sup>42</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

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<sup>40</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. 34, no.203, November, 1849. p.616.

<sup>41</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*

<sup>42</sup> Verbatim reprint, pp.vi-vii.

It was precisely on this point of what constituted historical value that readers had come to mistrust Braybrooke's judgement. In the preface to the first edition Braybrooke had said that because Pepys was in the habit of recording the "most trifling occurrences of his life, it became absolutely necessary to curtail the manuscript materially, and in many instances to condense the matter".<sup>43</sup> The preface diffidently and somewhat apologetically steers the reader towards an acceptance of the editor's judgement:

The general detail may also, in some instances, even in their abridged form, be considered as too minute; nor is it an easy task, in an undertaking of this sort, to please everybody's taste: my principle study in making the selection, however, has been to omit *nothing* of public interest; and to introduce at the same time a great variety of other topics, less important perhaps, but tending in some degree to illustrate the manners and habits of the age.<sup>44</sup>

As his comments from the preface to the third edition show, Braybrooke retained the belief that the additional material, if amusing, was incidental to the important historical portion already published.

The reviewer from the *Gentleman's Magazine* disagreed. Of the first edition the reviewer says "it was first published in two *lordly* quartos - according to the fashion of the day - in 1825".<sup>45</sup> (Emphasis mine.) With some extensive quoting from a review of the first edition by Walter Scott, the writer argues that abridgement can only be justified on the grounds of public decency. Quoting from Braybrooke's expressed editorial rationale in the preface to the third edition the reviewer goes on to say that, contrary to Lord Braybrooke's opinion, "the historical value of Pepys's Diary is *infinitely increased* in the present edition, for a majority of the new

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<sup>43</sup>B.1. p.3.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* pp.3-4.

<sup>45</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXXI, February 1849. p.161.

passages relate to incidents in domestic life.<sup>46</sup> (Emphasis mine.) This quotation foreshadows discussion in chapter four of the growing accommodation of the text as a historical source and I shall have reason to quote it at greater length again. To some degree, what Braybrooke seems to have recognised without fully understanding, is that opinions had been conditioned not only by the general shift in historical thinking which had occurred between 1825 and 1848, but by the first edition of the *Diary* itself. The passage quoted above is, in a sense, tautological to the extent that what it asks for as desirable from historical records, and then finds in Pepys's *Diary*, is really just a description of what can be found in the text.

The *Athenaeum*, more openly critical of Braybrooke, whose editing they call "slovenly", similarly said that the new material in the third edition is "at times of more historical value than the old; and our wonder is increased when we attempt to discover on what particular principle of suppression Lord Braybrooke could have acted in editing the former editions of the work".<sup>47</sup> The *Athenaeum* printed long reviews of each of the five volumes as they appeared separately. Each review highlighted the new material by picking out previously omitted passages for comment and by pointing to a number of Braybrooke's former errors, such as his occasional printing of passages under the wrong dates. They reserved their severest criticisms for his annotation.

Attitudes to Braybrooke's treatment of the text began to harden. On 20 March 1858 the *Illustrated London News*, noting Braybrooke's death the week before, said in its regular column "Town and Table Talk on Literature, Art, &c." that with Pepys's *Diary* "Lord Braybrooke... was not at all aware of the treasure his position enabled him to give to the public.

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<sup>46</sup>*ibid.* p.162.

<sup>47</sup>*Athenaeum*, No. 1075. 3 June, 1848. p.549.



He was afraid of what he had, and was a little afraid to the very last".<sup>48</sup> The notice continues by saying that although Braybrooke "cut Mr. Pepys to the quick" in the first edition, and did nothing to improve the second edition, he greatly improved the third with extra text and the fourth with better annotation (by virtue of assistance from other scholars), but the writer complains: "Still, we have not the *whole* of Pepys; - and why not? Lord Braybrooke was squeamish".<sup>49</sup> Unlike the obituary that appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which gave less space to Pepys's *Diary* and more to Braybrooke's other public activities, the *Illustrated London News* gives the impression that Braybrooke's chief claim on its attention was that he gave to the world a book of which he had little understanding and which he consequently mutilated.

Several questions remain, however, about Braybrooke's later editions. Why did he not take the plunge and publish the whole text, admitting that with the first edition he had been testing the water? Why did he become defensive in the preface to the second edition? By the time of his death there was a general awareness not only that Braybrooke had held a lot of the text back, but that there were flaws in the text as published. The effects of Braybrooke's evasiveness both about the relationship between the original manuscript and his various editions, and about the extent and accuracy of John Smith's transcription, began to emerge after his death in the confused comments of commentators and prospective publishers of a new edition. Was the original transcription inaccurate? To what extent had Braybrooke either simply omitted passages or bowdlerized and silently emended? These questions in turn

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<sup>48</sup>*Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXXII, no. 909, 20 March, 1858, p. 295.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

led to a new consideration in the publishing history of Pepys's *Diary* : who owned copyright and over what part of the text?

Despite open criticism of Braybrooke's editions, proposals to make a new transcription were aborted by those who wanted to protect his memory. In 1868 the publishers Bell and Daldy, approached the Rev. Professor J.R.Lumby, a Fellow of Magdalene College who was able to read the cipher, and offered him £300 to edit a fresh edition of the *Diary*. Permission to make a new transcription was refused by the then Master of Magdalene College, Braybrooke's son, Latimer Neville.<sup>50</sup> A Fellow of the College, Mynors Bright was eventually given approval for a new transcription. In April 1875, after he had spent nearly two years making a new transcription of Pepys's *Diary*, Bright received the following letter from Braybrooke's nephew, Ralph Neville Grenville:

I see you are editing a new "Pepys," partly to correct mistakes in the old one, and partly to insert omitted passages - If the former are numerous and gross it reflects very little credit on the Rev. Smith, the original decipherer who took such an unconscionable time over his work. As soon as my uncle's breath was out of his body he abused him in the *Illustrated London News* - I took up the cudgels and published in the following number a most interesting letter from L<sup>d</sup> Grenville who made the key to the shorthand cypher which the said Smith used - Smith rejoined but as an interesting illustration, I think you ought to read it. It occurred, I think, in June or July 1858.<sup>51</sup>

The condescending tone of this letter, particularly towards John Smith, characterises most of the exchange to which Grenville refers. The exchange of letters in the *Illustrated London News* was in the first place provoked by the paper's own notice of Braybrooke's death, quoted above, not by John Smith going on the attack the minute Braybrooke died. Smith had

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<sup>50</sup>See O.F.M. p.1.

<sup>51</sup>Ralph Neville Grenville to Mynors Bright, 15 April, 1875.

received almost no recognition, either materially or by way of generous acknowledgement, for his enormous labour in first transcribing the manuscript, unaided either by a reliable key to the shorthand, or by assistants. Ignorance of Smith's role and a concomitant ignorance of the relationship of the published versions of the *Diary* to the transcript and manuscript surface again in the *Illustrated London News* which says of the transcriber only that the shorthand was deciphered "by a man of the name of Smith".<sup>52</sup>

This provoked a quick reply from Smith who had complained long and bitterly about his treatment at the hands of Braybrooke. Twenty-six years earlier, in a letter to Lord Brougham, asking the then Lord Chancellor for a position, Smith wrote:

"Pepys's Memoirs" contain Extracts from his Diary from 1659 to 1669, and his Letters. The original Diary, from wh. the Extracts are made, & wh. form but a small part of the whole,) is written in Short-hand, and extends to upwards of 3000 pages in quarto, very closely written in an extremely small character. I deciphered the whole, and transcribed it in nearly 10,000 Quarto pages. When I commenced it, I did not know a single character of the Short-hand, which varies much in places when Pepys wished it to be unusually secret; and it occupied me in incessant labour for three years. The value and character of the Diary are well known. My whole remuneration for this labour was £200; & I have received little else but disappointment from it ever since.<sup>53</sup>

Smith repeated these claims in the *Illustrated London News* adding that he had often worked twelve or fourteen hours a day on the transcription.<sup>54</sup> He also refers the paper to the "second" diary of Pepys ("A Narrative of his Voyage to Tangiers") which he had transcribed and published in 1841 in

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<sup>52</sup>20 March, 1858, p.295.

<sup>53</sup>John Smith to Lord Chancellor Brougham, 8 August, 1832.(copy) PL "Some Correspondence (1831-1832) of the Rev. John Smith decipherer of the Pepys Diary".

<sup>54</sup> *Illustrated London News*, Vol XXXII, no. 910, p.311.



two volumes. Commenting on Smith's letter and continuing its barely disguised class attack on Braybrooke, the paper says that recommendations on its part to have this second diary included with the major *Diary* were stifled by "economic views on the part of Mr. Colburn [the publishers of Braybrooke's editions] and idleness on the part of Lord Braybrooke".<sup>55</sup>

It was in the issue for 10 April 1858, that Ralph Neville Grenville joined the debate saying, in the first place, that Smith had been supplied with a key to the short-hand by his father, the late Lord Grenville, who had (on the evidence of a covering letter) forwarded to Braybrooke "a key and a page or two of the *Diary* transcribed".<sup>56</sup> In the second part of the letter he says that the interest accruing on an investment of the *Diary's* profits, given to the college by Braybrooke, now assists "meritorious undergraduates".

Smith's rejoinder, solicited by the paper at the end of Neville Grenville's letter, reiterates his claims about the difficulty of transcribing the short-hand and says that what had been supplied by Lord Grenville was imperfect, that in a meeting with Grenville he had himself deciphered the passages in full (to the other's delight), and that he had only received hints about the 'cipher' from Grenville.<sup>57</sup> He also expresses a qualified pleasure in knowing that not only has he been "the means of affording valuable historical information and intense amusement to multitudes of readers wherever the English language is spoken", but that numerous undergraduates gain materially from his efforts. The paper closed with a

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<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Vol. XXXII, no.912 10 April, 1858. p.366.

<sup>57</sup> See L-M, Vol 1. p.lxxvii. " [Smith] met Lord Grenville only briefly, and never met the editor. He had no opportunity of discussing his difficulties with them. He found Lord Grenville's guide inaccurate and insufficient, and was assured by three stenographers - one of them William Brodie Gurney, the best-known shorthand writer of the day, employed in the House of Commons - that his task was impossible."

final curt comment: "Lord Braybrooke was not the most liberal paymaster; nor, to *our* thinking, has Mr. Smith (the real revealer of Pepys) been well used".<sup>58</sup>

When looked at in the light of Lord Grenville's original letter to Braybrooke (dated 21 August 1818), Smith's account seems the more plausible of the two. Ralph Neville Grenville submitted this letter of his father's to be printed as a reply to Smith's of 17 April 1858. In it Lord Grenville suggests to his brother that he should find a Cambridge man who "for the lucre of gain will sacrifice a few months to the labour of making a complete transcript ... for which purpose I would furnish you with my alphabet".<sup>59</sup> He also notes that a practised short-hand writer would despatch a volume in a week. The first of these suggestions is an impossibility, the second absurd.<sup>60</sup> But he seems also to have overrated the completeness of his own efforts saying that he could supply Braybrooke with three or four transcribed pages "with a few hiatuses, and those easily supplied (or, at least, for the most part so) by conjecture, which I have no doubt a farther progress in the manuscript would soon turn into certainty". Without any apparent malice, both Lord Grenville and Lord Braybrooke, show an aristocratic indifference both to the arduousness of the transcriber's task, and to the finer details of the work itself. As my next few chapters show at various places, this patrician attitude had a number of contemporary resonances, reaching into a conflict of opinions over the "dignity of history" and the enfranchisement by history of the everyday life of ordinary people.

<sup>58</sup>*Illustrated London News*, Vol.XXXII, no 913, 17 April, 1858. p.382.

<sup>59</sup>Lord Grenville to George Neville, 21 August, 1818. Original in PL "Letters relating to Pepys's Diary bought with the help of the Country Landowners' Association, April 1962. Also see L-M, Vol.1 pp.lxxv-lxxvi. The letter was published in the *Illustrated London News* Vol. XXXII, no. 914, 24 April, 1858. p.407.

<sup>60</sup>L-M, Vol.1. p.lxxvi, n.48.

Smith In his letter to Bright, however, Ralph Neville Grenville, seems confident that the exchange of letters in the *Illustrated London News* (in which the letter from his father formed a *coup de grace*) self-evidently settles the question of where any blame for the shortcomings of the *Diary* as previously published lay. And it is odd that he ignores both the initial notice by the paper following Braybrooke's death, and its subsequent comments, which clearly favour Smith. With a degree of hauteur, Neville Grenville sidesteps the issue of Braybrooke's excisions to focus on errors, all of which he attributes to Smith. Neville Grenville must himself have been ignorant about the length of the manuscript and the quality of Smith's transcription. If not, then his letter to Bright, who had just spent two years transcribing, was a rather odd attempt to shift blame.

Bright In April of 1874 the publisher George Bell wrote to Bright setting out what he believed to be the terms of copyright over Pepys's *Diary* adding that when Bell's had intended bringing out an *enlarged* edition in 1868 based on the proposed Lumby transcription, he believed that "permission was refused ... on the ground that it would be a slur on the memory of Lord Braybrooke".<sup>61</sup> When Lumby had asked for permission to make a new transcription, Latimer Neville said he required proof that his father's edition had been *erroneous* in all four volumes. The College, he said, required "sufficient extracts from the existing edition to satisfy them that there are errors of importance and magnitude throughout the four volumes". He goes on to say "I must add, that the production of such extracts will not pledge them to any particular course of action afterwards".<sup>62</sup> Whether he meant errors in Braybrooke's treatment of

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<sup>61</sup>George Bell to Mynors Bright, 24 May, 1874. PL MBP I (i) "Correspondence about publication of Pepys' Diary".

<sup>62</sup>Master to J. Rawson Lumby, 24 November, 1868. PL *Correspondence re.:J. Rawson Lumby's request for a new edition*. Letter #2.



Smith's transcription, or in Smith's transcription of the manuscript, Neville did not specify. By focusing on errors, as his cousin Ralph Neville Grenville had done, Latimer Neville evaded the issue of abridgement, condensation and bowdlerization. It would seem from the ensuing correspondence that either publishers were ignorant of the status of the published text in relationship to the transcription and the relationship of the transcription to the manuscript, or they were deliberately bluffing in order to secure contracts.

When Bright was casting around for a publisher, several comments, seemingly incidental, give support to the argument that Braybrooke had successfully kept his readers in ignorance of the relations among the various states of the text. In February 1875 the publishers Bickers wrote to Bright saying that they intended bringing out a "Standard Library" edition of Pepys in five volumes octavo. They had heard that Bright had *transcribed* "some important additional matter" and since they wished their edition to be as "perfect as possible" requested his services.<sup>63</sup> Once again, the implication is that the original *transcription* was incomplete. Moreover, by referring to "some" extra text Bickers do not seem to realise the extent of previous omissions which, if restored, would require more than the proposed five volumes. This misunderstanding appears to have been clarified because several weeks later Bickers again wrote to Bright saying that in view of a new transcription of the whole text they may have to change their plans.

Bright offered his new transcription to John Murray suggesting that the "present text" contains "many mistakes".<sup>64</sup> Murray thanked him for the offer and, apparently confusing past abridged editions with transcriptions,

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<sup>63</sup>Bickers to Bright, 26 February, 1875. MBP I (i) All the following letters, unless otherwise stated, come from the same collection.

<sup>64</sup>Bright to Murray, 4 March, 1875.

said that he had no doubt Bright's transcription would be "superior to all [sic] others ... but they have got so complete possession of the field and are sold at so cheap a price that your improved Edition would have no chance but of going to the wall".<sup>65</sup> Bright wrote again to Murray saying that he had enough additional material to fill at least another volume and offering, for the sake of comparison with previous editions, to show him Pepys's original text. Murray still declined. Both Bickers and Murray indicate misunderstandings about the status of the text, but also show the importance of commercial considerations. Perhaps as a response to what he saw as Murray's confusion over the status of the text, Bright replied to Murray offering to show "Pepys's original text".<sup>66</sup> Reprints of Braybrooke's editions, as I showed earlier, had now become very cheap. What this suggests is that Pepys's *Diary* could be two different kinds of publication. A full, 'scholarly' edition might be desirable, but it would be sold on a different basis to the popular editions which would always remain popular. Braybrooke's first edition would be hard to replace and there was not much reason for publishers to do so.

In the meantime Bickers made an offer to Bright for him to edit a new edition. On 19 June 1875 the publishers Bell's, current owners of Braybrooke's third and fourth editions which they were still printing, wrote to Bright trying to dissuade him from accepting Bickers' offer.<sup>67</sup> Bell's understood that Bickers had originally only intended to reprint the 1828 (second) edition which was now out of copyright. George Bell argues that a duplicate transcript "with corrections" does not acquire a new copyright. While Magdalene College's ownership of copyright over the published portion (of the first two editions) has gone, he claims, he

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<sup>65</sup> Murray to Bright, 5 March, 1875.

<sup>66</sup> Bright to Murray, 6 March, 1875.

<sup>67</sup> Bell to Bright 19 June, 1875.

himself owns copyright of the Smith transcript which had come to him through Bohn from Colburn, who had bought it from Braybrooke. Lord Braybrooke had sold the copyrights of both the first and the third editions, together with his notes, for £2,200, to the publisher, at the time of publication. On the death of Colburn, the copyrights were sold by auction for £310 to Bohn, who then incorporated the book into Bohn's Historical Library. This series (Bohn's Historical Library) was bought by George Bell and Sons. "Publishers," Bell continues in his letter to Bickers, "would not buy property of this kind if it were liable to be attacked by rival Editions." He then says that he has written to the college to ask them to withdraw Bright's permission to publish a new transcription, offering Bright £50 compensation to extricate himself from any agreement with Bickers. Should the college not withdraw, he proposes to apply for permission to make "a fresh transcript to complete Lord Braybrooke's Edition". This, he claims would be the best solution satisfying both Braybrooke's representatives and the college because "Lord Braybrooke's Edition would not be superseded". Bell's attempted bluff drew the comment that he had gone "beyond the bounds of honourable dealing" from Bickers, who proceeded with Bright's edition.<sup>68</sup> The question, however, is whether Bell actually understands what it is he owned and what the relationship of the Braybrooke texts to the transcription actually is. The impression given from these letters is that any errors on Braybrooke's part are the result of errors, or incompleteness, in the transcription.

The wish not to supersede Braybrooke's edition was fulfilled for many years to come in the sense that both Braybrooke's first and fourth editions were reprinted many times over well into the twentieth century. In the 1920s at least five quite different editions of Pepys's *Diary* were

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<sup>68</sup> Bickers to Bright, 21 June, 1875.



current - apart from Henry Wheatley's "complete" edition, there were selections based on both Wheatley and Bright, and there were versions by several publishers of Braybrooke's first, and a more expensive reprint of Braybrooke's fourth. It was hard to know what a "real Pepys" meant, as Frank Doel's hurt reply to Helene Hanff quoted later in this chapter shows.

Although he published far more of the text than Braybrooke, Bright made the same excuse as had the first editor for omitting material that he considered either to be "tedious to the reader" or "unfit for publication".<sup>69</sup> The basis on which Bright omitted passages he deemed tedious to the reader was, however, significantly different from that of Braybrooke. Whereas Braybrooke had omitted the "most trifling occurrences of [Pepys's] life "in favour of public events, Bright omitted "the account of [Pepys's] daily life at the office". Although most reviewers welcomed Bright's edition for the extra material, he was criticised for the poor annotation (of the first two volumes in particular) and for failing to publish the whole text. Nevertheless, while pointing out these "blemishes", the *Edinburgh Review* says of Bright's edition that it is "the best, or indeed the only one which has yet been published".<sup>70</sup>

But after having a large portion of the text withheld at the first editor's discretion for fifty years, readers were not willing to trust Bright's judgment on their behalf, as Robert Louis Stevenson pointed out:

Mr. Mynors Bright has given us a new transcription of the diary, increasing it in bulk by near a third, correcting many errors, and completing our knowledge of the man in some curious and important points. We can only regret that he has taken liberties with the author and the public. It is no part of the duties of the editor of an established classic to decide what may or may not be

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<sup>69</sup>M B. Vol 1, p.viii.

<sup>70</sup> *Edinburgh Review* Vol.152, July 1880. p.225.

"tedious to the reader." The book is either an historical document or it is not, and in condemning Lord Braybrooke Mr. Bright condemns himself.<sup>71</sup>

Stevenson goes on to suggest that especially when "we purchase six huge and distressingly expensive volumes, we are entitled to be treated rather more like scholars and rather less like children".

By calling the *Diary* a historical document Stevenson is giving it a function which requires that all its details be intact, whereas the majority of readers, unable to afford the whole set, were not reading Pepys as scholars, nor necessarily as a historical document. At this time, a number of other books of selections and extracts from the *Diary* began to appear. These selections and abridgments will receive more discussion later. But they complicate the whole picture of Pepys's *Diary* to the extent that it is almost impossible to keep track of how many editions have been published.

Each of the many selections appearing at the end of the nineteenth century chooses its contents according to a different rationale. One privately printed volume called *Excerpts from the Diary of Samuel Pepys* made, according to its editor Horace N. Pym, as a substitute for the whole text for those who only have time for "short cuts to knowledge" claims to pick out the plums from the "much too stolid though excellent pudding" of Samuel Pepys, but in so doing gives preference to "those entries describing the social and domestic life of the time, to the almost entire exclusion of what relates to the political and business surroundings".<sup>72</sup> The result is a series of domestic vignettes oddly cushioned from the

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<sup>71</sup>Robert Louis Stevenson, "Samuel Pepys", *Cornhill Magazine*

<sup>72</sup>Pym p.viii.

larger historical context of Pepys's time, which is only marked by a quaintness of language.

The reviewer of Bright's edition for the *Academy* was Henry Wheatley, London antiquary and bibliophile. Wheatley constructed the index to Bright's six volumes which he found so lacking in useful annotation that he wrote *Samuel Pepys and the World He Lived In* (1880). In his review Wheatley ran through the history of the *Diary's* publication criticising Braybrooke for omitting passages "without explanation, and apparently without reason", and (as the *Athenaeum* had done in 1848-9 by comparing passages from the third and first editions) Wheatley illustrates the way that Braybrooke's compressions frequently alter the sense of the text. One such passage is the following in which the words printed by Braybrooke are in italics:

Dec. 30th, 1661. - *With my wife and Sir W. Pen to see our pictures, which do not much displease us*, and so back again, and I staid at the Mitre, whither I had invited all my old acquaintance of the Exchequer to a good shine of beef, which with three barrels of oysters and three pullets and plenty of wine and mirth was our dinner, and there was about twelve of us, and here I made a foolish promise to give them one this day twelvemonth, and so forever while I live, but I do not intend it. So home to Sir W. Pen, who *with* his children and *my wife* has been *at a play* today *and saw "D'Ambois," which I never saw.*

As Wheatley points out "Braybrooke's reading makes Pepys himself take his wife to the play".<sup>73</sup> ("Which I never saw" is taken to mean which I have never seen.)

In 1883, Bickers wrote to Magdalene college to enquire about the copyright on Bright's edition expressing their desire to keep publishing Pepys's *Diary*. They say that they had had difficulty with Bright, who had

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<sup>73</sup> Henry Wheatley, *Living Age* pp.252-253.



refused to continue with the edition stipulating that only 1,000 copies be printed and the plates destroyed. Bickers say that they know Bright gave his transcript to the college and that they think they have some claim to put out a new edition. As one of their justifications they say that "we have already published the only complete edition".<sup>74</sup> They complain of left-over unsold single volumes which they cannot get rid of without reprinting whole sets. They also point out that Bright's edition was not commercially viable and that the only profitable solution is to make a new edition. Bell was still interested in Lord Braybrooke's edition and the College had to decide how it would resolve the competition between rival publishers and rival editions. A reprint of Bright's edition had appeared in America. In negotiating a new edition under the editorship of Henry Wheatley, Bell wrote to the Master, Latimer Neville, saying they had offered Bright £300 for his interest in the edition. Since they wish to continue publishing their "cheap edition" and also want to be secured against "rival editions" they want a guarantee from the College to allow a fresh transcript which would not be superseded in the future. They claim that they will have to meet the reprint of Bright's edition in America and probably have to contend with a reprint of Lord Braybrooke's edition as soon as the notes were out of copyright.<sup>75</sup> The College refused this guarantee.<sup>76</sup> Bell did not accept "absolutely" the College's decision and thought that the College had "overestimated the value of the work as a literary property". Bell says that they do not want to reproduce Bright's edition with Braybrooke's notes but completely revise it to "make the edition a final one in respect of the text".<sup>77</sup> Finally, the College requested

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<sup>74</sup>Bickers to Master of Magdalene College, 4 June, 1883.

<sup>75</sup> George Bell and Sons to Magdalene college 22 December, 1884.

<sup>76</sup>O.F.M. p.4.

<sup>77</sup> George Bell and Sons to College, 27 March, 1885.

"Messrs Bell to issue a definitive edition under the editorship of Mr. Wheatley and to stereotype the plates".<sup>78</sup> Braybrooke's editions did, of course, keep reappearing.

What this brief history of some aspects of the publishing history shows is not only that confusion existed about who owned copyright of what - transcription, published text and notes - but that commercial interests and personal interests (especially with regard to protecting Braybrooke's reputation) vied with, and often eclipsed, "scholarly" motives.

Just prior to the publication of his edition of the *Diary* Wheatley wrote an article called "Unpublished Pages of Pepys's Diary" (quoted at the beginning of the Introduction) in which he gave readers "some idea of what is still in store for them when the whole Diary is printed, by quoting only from those passages that have hitherto remained in manuscript".<sup>79</sup> In a footnote that suggests there still existed some confusion about the relationship of the printed matter to the manuscript, Wheatley says that Mynors Bright had prepared a complete transcript, although he did not print the whole.

The response to Wheatley's edition, which, although nearly complete, contained bowdlerisations, omissions (perhaps accidental), altered sentence, phrase and word order, and even additions, was one that had a history of abridged editions behind it. One of the interesting results of this (with the exception of the reviewer from the *Quarterly Review* who preferred a greater number of excisions) was that the completeness of the Wheatley text was equated with the presentation of the whole man Pepys. At first sight this may appear only to be a free substitution, either stated or

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<sup>78</sup> O.F.M. p.4.

<sup>79</sup> Henry Wheatley, "Unpublished Pages of Samuel Pepys", *Livvinoff Age*, Vol. 192, 16 January, 1892. p.173

implied, of the name Pepys for the *Diary*. But a writer in *Macmillan's Magazine* said of the edition, "there you have him, the whole of him, nothing omitted - the entire gamut of a living man from his stomach to what he imagined to be his conscience".<sup>80</sup> To this writer it seemed strange that the publication of the whole text had not come about earlier. And as already quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the *Gentleman's Magazine* said "for the first time Pepys reveals himself fully to us". To these writers, the real Pepys, Pepys the man, had been obscured by the omissions of previous editions and they therefore draw the false conclusion that by having the whole *Diary* we have everything that Pepys could possibly have written about himself. To some extent this impression must have been the result of the text's previous appearances in the world. It had been said from the first publication that Pepys wrote down everything about himself, but now with a text that was nearly five times longer and which included evidence of his extra-marital sex life, it appeared that there could not possibly be more to write.

The "real Pepys" in one sense came to mean both the complete and authentic edition of the *Diary*, the only true edition, and at the same time the whole man. But it was through the various and enormously popular Braybrooke editions, which were not, ultimately, superseded either by Bright's or Wheatley's editions, that "Pepys" the character in the text had come to be known; the garrulous Clerk of the Acts whose personality, as the reviewer in the *Quarterly Review* suggested, was actually distorted by the darker revelations of Wheatley's edition. For this reviewer, the whole text skewed our vision of the "real Pepys." Another vital aspect of understanding the publishing history of Pepys's *Diary* is the central role played by abridgments and selections.

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<sup>80</sup>"The Man Pepys" in *Living Age*, Vol.211, 3 October, 1893. P.48.



### III.

A major factor in how Pepys's *Diary* makes its appearance in the world is the length of the manuscript. Its one and a quarter million words are a barrier to its being affordable and widely read in full. Almost since the *Diary*'s first appearance, there has been a tension between the desire to have a "complete" edition and the necessity to keep producing some form of abridgement, or selection, for popular readership. Despite the acclaim for the expanded editions of Bright, and then Wheatley, in the late nineteenth century, there was a proliferation of shorter versions, abridgements and selections, which remained popular. Similarly, while the current Latham and Matthews edition may seem like the Pepys to end all Pepyses, it has immediately brought in its wake a handful of new abridgements and selections based on the parent text: *The Illustrated Pepys* (1983); *The Shorter Pepys* (1985) and *The Pepys Anthology* (1987). Despite significant differences in content, the second of these, *The Shorter Pepys*, which contains about a third of the whole text, is a reversion to a form similar to that of the often reviled Braybrooke first edition of 1825. Like the first edition, the abridged text of *The Shorter Pepys* is enclosed by Pepys's opening and closing passages and in neither case are omissions indicated by dots of elision. These features of the abridgements contribute to an appearance of self-containment and internal completeness, or textual plenitude, rather than to a selection whose incompleteness is everywhere marked and brought to the attention of the reader.<sup>81</sup> (The editor of *The*

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<sup>81</sup> In conversation with Robert Latham in January 1987, he told me that his original intention had been to mark omissions with dots of elision, but that there were so many omissions that it made the final text look too untidy. The point here, however, is how the final text appears and can be read.

*Shorter Pepys*, Robert Latham, has not, like Braybrooke, tampered with Pepys's language.)

In 1933, the tercentenary of Samuel Pepys's birth, Edwin Chappell, something of a Pepys champion, railed against the continuing spread of misinformation with regard to Pepys's *Diary* and against the reprinting of Braybrooke's editions. He demanded a moratorium on the publication of the text.

An order should be made...prohibiting the publication of anything about Pepys for a space of thirty years. On the expiration of this stand-still order, the next generation would have the opportunity of making a new and healthy start with an honest edition of the *Diary*.

Very few seem to know the truth about the mutilation to which the *Diary* has been subjected. The complete work consists of about 1,330,000 words. Of these Lord Braybrooke's first and second editions contained 360,000: about twenty-seven per cent of the whole...the considerably enlarged third edition 600,000 (forty-five per cent). It seems to me bad enough that this enlarged fragment should be sold today as "Pepys' *Diary*", but what can be said of three publishers who are actually still reprinting Braybrooke's original edition?"<sup>82</sup>

Chappell is right to draw attention to the fact that Braybrooke's editions are sold as Pepys's *Diary*. I made the point in the introduction that "Pepys's *Diary*" has become a generic name for a number of very different publications.

The Chandos Classics reprinting of Braybrooke's first edition (first published late in the nineteenth century, but undated, and many times reprinted) states in the Preface that the *Diary* "is here submitted to the reader in the most elegant and economical as well as complete form."<sup>83</sup> This raises an important point with regard to what is considered to be the "real Pepys". In one sense the editor of this volume would seem to be

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<sup>82</sup> Edwin Chappell, *Bibliographia Pepysiana* (printed by Edwin Chappell. Blackheath, 1933,) n.p.

<sup>83</sup> *Pepys' Diary*, "Chandos Classics" (Frederick Warne and Co., London, nd) p.iv.

swimming against the tide. But closer analysis of responses to the text in its various forms in the late-nineteenth century supports a view that "Pepys" the character embodied by Braybrooke's text had taken on a life of his own in such away that people coming to the text for the first time already know something about him. This is not unlike the idea that we know something about the character of Hamlet before we experience the play, so that in one way this already known, culturally familiar, Hamlet becomes the play's referent. In the case of Pepys, reading the Braybrooke text will confirm one's pre-existing view of the character. There is, of course, more to it than this. One of the bases upon which I make this judgment comes from a knowledge of "Pepys" the character portrayed in so many nineteenth century historical novels. Reading any number of these illustrates the degree to which "Pepys" as a character is drawn from reading the text of the *Diary* alone. These novelists do not draw their portraits of Pepys from other biographical knowledge outside the text of the *Diary*.

Certainly by the second half of the century it had become part of critical orthodoxy to criticise Braybrooke for not recognising the value of printing the whole manuscript. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for example, said in its review of Mynors Bright's edition: "Lord Braybrooke evidently had no prevision that Pepys would become a household name, or that we should ever please ourselves by social sketches drawn from a Pepysian idiom. Far less could it have been anticipated that the last point on which the public would quarrel with Pepys was the length of his diary. Of this change of feeling, Mr. Mynors Bright's new edition is a remarkable illustration."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>The *Gentleman's Magazine* . Vol. 183, no.365. p. 430



But while commercial considerations have played a very large part in the continued publication of reprints of Braybrooke's first edition well into this century, it also makes a lot of sense to regard Braybrooke's first edition as the "original Pepys" which, because it established the text in the public realm, has become the "traditional" Pepys and therefore difficult to replace completely. It can be put this way: what we call "Pepys's *Diary*" is not the manuscript the writer left in six volumes on the shelves of his library; it is that manuscript "made legible" and edited. Even the title, Pepys's *Diary*, forces a separation between the manuscript and published work. Samuel Pepys most often referred to it internally as "my Journall", sometimes calling it "diary", but on the spines of the bindings each of the six volumes is called "Journall" with the number of the volume and the years it covers.<sup>85</sup> The third person distancing in the title "Pepys's *Diary*" signifies this as an already mediated work. 'Performing' the text makes it stand in a different relationship to a reader than it did to its writer. While this may be true to some degree of all published writing, it seems especially true of a manuscript which the writer had bound, with the title "Journall", and which he shelved in a library ultimately given in bequest to a university college, thereby giving a kind of material permanency to his own relationship to the manuscript. What would it mean simply to call the publication "Journall"? To do so would not be altogether unlike trying to recapture the original circumstances of an early music performance,

It could even be said, for the sake of emphasis, but without exaggeration, that Braybrooke's first edition *created* Pepys, both the text in its public existence, and the character derived from the text. As the reviewer for the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggests, by the time of Bright's edition, Pepys had become a household name. And it was owing to

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<sup>85</sup> See L-M, Vol.1.pp. xlv-xlviii.

Braybrooke's editions that this was the case. The ambiguity in the use of the word "Pepys" mentioned in the opening part of this chapter begins to increase. "Pepys the character" projected by the text is a household name, but it is because "Pepys the text", as edited by Lord Braybrooke, has become a household book.

Reprints of the first edition also carry Braybrooke's 1825 preface, thus keeping in circulation Braybrooke's vague and indifferent information as to the state of the manuscript and his treatment of it. (This preface will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.) Judging by the number of times it has been reprinted, and by the kind of anecdotal evidence I adduced before concerning the number of people possessing a copy of the first Braybrooke edition, it seems fair to suggest that up until the present day a very large number of readers have only experienced Pepys's *Diary* in this form. In simple practical terms few people can afford the full text, or would want to read it. But it does mean that in terms of the material, or textual history, a case could be made for calling the first Braybrooke edition, the "real Pepys", or the "real Pepys's *Diary*".

The editor of the Chandos Classics edition was not alone in regarding Braybrooke's edition as a true Pepys. At the end of the century when Henry Wheatley's eight volume, near-complete edition appeared, moral objections to some of the new passages were raised, leading some commentators to suggest that the fuller versions of the *Diary* distort the "real Pepys" as he has been known. The character could have two quite distinct identities. On the one hand the full text was regarded as the "real Pepys" because its extraordinary detail seemed to "reveal" a whole man. On the other hand, these very details disturbed the picture of the "real Pepys" as he had come to be known through the Braybrooke editions

because it showed him to be considerably less "virtuous" than he had already seemed.

J. Hoste in the *Quarterly Review* took a somewhat equivocal view of Henry Wheatley's new edition. On the one hand he said of Braybrooke's editing that "although it is easy to find fault with his selection on the grounds of incompleteness ... it [his selection] is marked by sound discrimination, and the narrative, if shorn of much interesting detail, is lucidly presented, and with sufficient fulness to satisfy the generality of readers." But he also added that "the desire to have the whole diary, the refusal to be satisfied with anything less, were sure to find expression... Both in bulk and in interest the additions are most important, throwing, as they do, fresh and vivid light on the character and doings of the diarist."<sup>86</sup>

But Hoste goes on to suggest that the fact that Wheatley has introduced passages, many of which are "coarse, indecent, and disgusting ..., disgraceful to the diarist, and quite devoid of any interest, literary, social, or psychological, seems ... to require an explanation, the necessity for which does not seem to have occurred to the accomplished editor. It cannot be maintained that the character of Pepys would be incompletely portrayed if these nauseous passages were left out." Because attention is now focused on these new passages the reader will no longer be able to make a "just judgement" of the man Pepys. The "real Pepys", this article seems to suggest, may be better served by the subordination, or excision, of certain details.

The single volume Globe Edition, first published in 1905 and then reprinted six times to 1929, used Braybrooke's fourth edition of 1854. The editor G. Gregory Smith suggests in his preface:

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<sup>86</sup> J. Hoste, *Quarterly Review*, Vol 183, no.365. January, 1896. p.4



...there is enough in what Lord Braybrooke has preserved to give us the *true bearings* of the Diarist, even in those by-courses and harbour-squalls which to some are the whole interest of the story. It may be safely said of Lord Braybrooke's text that in all essential matters, in all those passages which are of prime importance, it is not inferior to the fuller texts... We may go further and claim...that the Braybrooke text gives to the general reader perhaps a *truer likeness* of Pepys than is presented in the larger editions or in the *manuscript*. For the disproportionate treatment of the accidents and lapses in the later renderings has without doubt been responsible for that popular judgement of the Diarist which is so unhistorical and so unfair. It is no matter whether it was over-niceness or superior indifference to tittle-tattle, or both, or neither, which helped the first editor to his conclusions; but it is something that the result has been so good.<sup>87</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

Who is this Pepys, with a seemingly separate *a priori* existence, for whom the Braybrooke text provides a *truer* likeness other than the Pepys created by the text in the first place? What this does introduce, however, is the notion that all questions of scholarly completeness aside, to some readers, Braybrooke's text is a preferred "real Pepys".

Conversely, five years before the date of Smith's preface, Charles Whibley suggested that "Lord Braybrooke invented a Pepys of his own."<sup>88</sup> This is a useful concept for recognising at a blow the textual construction of Smith's Pepys. Contrary to Smith, Whibley criticises all previous editions of Pepys for their incompleteness, calling them "distortions" of the real Pepys. Lord Braybrooke, Whibley contends, "daubed and slashed the picture, until the Secretary to the Admiralty, the most many-sided of men, was presented in only one or two aspects."<sup>89</sup>

In an incidental comment from an essay titled "Tom Moore in Wiltshire" Edmund Gosse suggested that the abridgement of the diaries of Moore and John Evelyn is essential for cutting away unnecessary material,

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<sup>87</sup> G.G. Smith, Preface to *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ("Globe Edition", London, 1905.) p.vi.

<sup>88</sup> Charles Whibley, *The Pageantry of Life*. p.110

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.*

but, he adds : "to cut down Pepys would be a crime."<sup>90</sup> Gosse is not making a comment on a possible lack of scholarly ethics in the abridgement of diaries, nor is he making a general case about the dependence of a diary's authenticity and the personality shaped by it on an unabridged presentation. He is, however, implying his own sense of what is essential in Pepys; that is, the whole text and nothing but the whole text.

But a sense of what an editor deems an essential Pepys's *Diary* to be is also intrinsic to the major abridgements. In the preface to his first edition Braybrooke stated that, at the linguistic level, he had taken "the greatest care ... to preserve the original meaning" whenever he had condensed the writing and that his "principal study in making the selection ... [had] been to omit nothing of public interest; and to introduce at the same time a great variety of other topics, less important, perhaps, but tending in some degree to illustrate the manners and habits of the age." So severe were Braybrooke's excisions that the final text is inevitably twisted towards certain preoccupations of the time.

In the preface to *The Shorter Pepys* (1985) Robert Latham more openly states his editorial rationale by giving a very clear indication of just how much of the original text has been omitted. But while admitting that "something is lost in any selection" he goes on to say, "I have tried to make the abridgement as *representative* of the whole work as I can. There is no attempt to offer 'The Best of Pepys'. It is designed to reflect as clearly as its parent text Pepys's concern to write both autobiography and history, and his habit of reporting the usual as well as the unusual."<sup>91</sup>

There is also frank bias in Mynors Bright's edition which, at the time of its publication, was considered to be near complete. Apart from

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<sup>90</sup> Edmund Gosse, *Leaves and Fruit*. (William Heinemann Ltd. , London, 1927) p.167.

<sup>91</sup> Robert Latham, ed., *The Shorter Pepys*. Bell & Hyman. 1985. p.xv.

leaving out the passages deemed "unfit for publication" he also omitted a number of others concerning "the account of [Pepys's] daily work at the office," which "would have been tedious to the reader."<sup>92</sup>

All the above comments indicate that finding a "real Pepys" whether based on the idea of a complete text, or something which captures the essence of the character "Pepys" is a slippery and changeable concept. It is for this reason that I have chosen to suggest that all editions of Pepys's *Diary* are performances, that there cannot be, in the end a single "real Pepys". Equating the man with the text belongs, as I have suggested, to a particular cultural moment. But if we are to understand that cultural moment, the first requirement is to identify the existence of that equation and to look at the ways in which it operates.

In his reply of 20 October, 1951 to Helene Hanff's letter at the beginning of this chapter, Frank Doel says:

First of all, let me apologize for the Pepys. I was honestly under the impression that it was the *complete Braybrooke edition* and I can understand how you must have felt when you found your favourite passages missing. I promise to look at the next reasonably priced copy that comes along, and if it contains the passages you mention in your letter I will send it along.<sup>93</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

Hanff's original request in a postscript of 15 October, 1950, did not specify an edition, but simply said: "Have you got Sam Pepy's [sic] diary over there? I need him for long winter evenings." Doel's reply is hard to interpret. It is difficult to imagine that he was not aware of the Wheatley edition. What he says about a complete Braybrooke edition seems to be a careful evasion of culpability. Nevertheless, his reply shows the degree to

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<sup>92</sup>MB, Vol.1.p.viii.

<sup>93</sup> Helene Hanff, *84 Charing Cross Road*, (Futura, London, 1970 and 1987) p.36.



which confusion reigns over what constitutes a "real Pepys." What is he meaning to imply by a "complete Braybrooke edition"?

Nearly two years after her original request Hanff got what she had wanted:

14 East 95th St.  
New York City  
September 18, 1952

Frankie, guess who came while you were away on vacation? SAM PEPYS! Please thank whoever mailed him for me, he came a week ago, stepped out of four pages of some tabloid, three honest navy-blue volumes of him; I read the tabloid over lunch and started Sam after dinner.

He says to tell you he's overJOYED [sic] to be here, he was previously owned by a slob who never even bothered to cut the pages. I'm wrecking them, it's the thinnest India paper I ever saw.<sup>94</sup>

The edition Hanff finally received appears to have been the three volume octavo Wheatley edition published in 1923 by George Bell and Sons on India paper - to date, therefore, the most complete edition.

What this chapter opens up is the possibility of reading the history of Pepys's *Diary* as a published text as a social phenomenon, with a variety of variables. What it has not addressed and what comes in the following chapters, is a consideration of what conditions led to its publication in the first place.

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<sup>94</sup> *ibid.* p.54.

Two.

## TRIFLING DETAILS.

Men should know why they write, and for what end; but it would be difficult to say what purpose can have induced Mr. Pepys to commit thus to paper the most trifling particulars of his life.

*Westminster Review*, July-October, 1825.

People in our rank in life are perpetually falling into one sad mistake, namely, that of supposing that human nature and the persons they associate with are one and the same thing. Whom do we generally associate with? Gentlemen, persons of fortune, professional men, ladies [,] persons who can afford to buy or can easily procure books of half a guinea price, hot-pressed, and printed upon superfine paper. These persons are, it is true, a part of human nature, but we err lamentably if we suppose them to be fair representatives of the vast mass of human existence. And yet few ever consider books but with reference to their power of pleasing these persons and men of a higher rank[;] few descend lower among cottages and fields and among children.

William Wordsworth, Letter to John Wilson, 7 June 1802.

This chapter begins with the problematisation of a straightforward observation most directly expressed by Élisabeth Bourcier: "*La vogue du journal date en fait du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, durant lequel un certain nombre de journaux des siècles précédents furent exhumés et publiés pour la première fois.*"<sup>1</sup> William Matthews's *British Diaries*,<sup>2</sup> which includes some two thousand three hundred entries, shows that before the beginning of the nineteenth century only a very small handful of diaries had been published. In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, as Bourcier suggests, this changed dramatically. And it was a change of which early nineteenth-century commentators were aware. The publication of Pepys's *Diary* was

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<sup>1</sup> Élisabeth Bourcier, *les journaux privés en Angleterre de 1660 à 1660*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, 1976. p.1.

<sup>2</sup> William Matthews, *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written between 1442 and 1942.*, University of California Press, 1950.

caught in the upswing of interest in diaries and memoirs from the past and it, in turn, confirmed their importance. An attempt to offer some explanations for this sudden interest in the publication of diaries shapes this chapter's main line of inquiry. But the focus of the inquiry is specific. I have already suggested that from the middle of the century to its end, Braybrooke came under first hostile and then dismissive criticism for his treatment of the text. Some commentators recognised that in 1825 the times were not conducive to publishing a complete version of Pepys's *Diary*, but none explored the reason this might have been so. Throughout this study I want to explore the degree of consensus between Braybrooke and his reviewers by looking at the terms in which reviewers understood this abridgment. This involves looking at Braybrooke's comments about his editorial rationale, few as these comments are, looking also at aspects of his abridgment, at the comments of reviewers and at aspects of the general cultural context. When the first edition came out, commentators were divided as to the value of the 'trifling details', that is, those evanescent details of everyday life which in the early nineteenth century were differentiated from the grander, more noble and permanent facts of history. This chapter concentrates on how those trifling details affected an appreciation of Pepys's *Diary*. My fourth chapter will cover some of the same ground, but within the larger context of 'history'.

An unanswerable question, which is nevertheless worth keeping in mind because of the orientation it gives to my inquiry is: how would reviewers have responded to the publication of the whole text, or, given that standards of the time made some passages completely inadmissible because of their indecency, most of the text? What we can see in the prefaces and introductions to seventeenth-century diaries and memoirs published in the early nineteenth century, and in responses to those



publications in reviews, is an attempt to make aspects of the texts they introduce intelligible. The reason for the title of this chapter is that it was over what could be called 'trifling details' in Pepys's *Diary* that disagreements existed among reviewers as to its usefulness in historical terms. If we look at responses to the first edition and compare them with responses to Braybrooke's third edition of 1848, we can see that it was through the increased appreciation of 'trifling details' that the text became intelligible historically. My aim, however, is to move beyond proposing possible specific explanations in order to speculate in my fourth chapter about some of the cultural and intellectual conditions - namely the larger historical debate of the times - which gave the first, second and third editions of Pepys's *Diary* their shape. Pepys's *Diary*, I want to claim, came into line with the early nineteenth-century historical outlook which embraced both Scott and Macaulay.

Not only had there not been many diaries and journals published prior to the nineteenth century, but those few which had been published, can be classified as spiritual diaries, travel diaries or journals of wars.<sup>3</sup> They had been published, in other words, for their particular instructiveness. There were none in print like those of Pepys, or Evelyn, whose publication was justified on the grounds that they could inform readers of the *everyday life* - generally expressed as consisting of the "manners and customs" - of the past. It is not true to say that *no* diaries or memoirs had been published prior to the nineteenth century - the

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<sup>3</sup> This reading of Matthews's *Bibliography* is corroborated by Felicity Nussbaum *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-century England* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1989) p.24., Nussbaum observes that although "Matthews's list is not exhaustive, it is indicative of general trends. Among those he lists I can find only one that was both written and published in the sixteenth century, and approximately twenty-five similarly treated in the seventeenth century. Fewer than twenty were both written and published between 1700 and 1750, and there are twenty-three in this category between 1750 and 1800."

memoirs of Reresby, whose publication in 1813 served as a model for Evelyn's *Diary* in 1818, had, for example, first been published in 1734 - but it is important to stress the degree to which there was an accelerating increase in their publication in the first three, or four, decades of the century. Affirming the newness of the interest in memoirs, the *Retrospective Review* (1826) surveyed contemporary journals of the age of Charles II, and suggested that just as memoirs are now pouring from the French presses, "our own press has, within the last few years, supplied us, by the publication of sundry memoirs rescued from oblivion, with much authentic information".<sup>4</sup> At the time of its first publication, Pepys's *Diary*, according to the *New Monthly Magazine* represented the tip of the iceberg: "The growing taste for *this species of literature* will ensure an ample remuneration for the labourer in the vineyard; and the number of MSS. latent in the different collections with which England abounds, promises an abundant harvest".<sup>5</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Twenty-four years later that harvest was being gathered in. In an article entitled "Mr Secretary Pepys" (1849) the *Dublin University Magazine* suggests that "the almost unlimited publication of private documents, which each day is disinterring from old family repositories, will compel the whole of our civil history to be re-written."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the publication of diaries and memoirs at the beginning of the nineteenth century was based on a rationale different from that which governed their occasional publication in the eighteenth century. They had begun to become intelligible within the new definitions of history. If we contextualise the burgeoning of published diaries and memoirs at the beginning of the nineteenth century by stressing these two related factors - the increase in numbers published and the changed

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<sup>4</sup> *Retrospective Review*, Vol. XIII, 1826. p.167.

<sup>5</sup> *New Monthly Magazine* Vol.14, pt II, 1825. p.110

<sup>6</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV, November, 1849. p.612.

rationale for publication - it begins to make sense to suggest that although diaries and memoirs have always been written, what occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century was the emergence of a new genre, because what they represent is a new form *in the public domain*. There is a difference in kind between a diary which remains in manuscript, read by a few people, if any, and one which has undergone the process of mediation finally to be read in published form by a general readership. To begin with, the relationship between reader and text is different. This is particularly the case when any one published diary can be compared by a reader with a number of others. Someone competent in Shelton's Tachygraphy reading Pepys's *Diary* in manuscript in the middle of the eighteenth century could not have said as the reviewer for the *Literary Gazette* said of the first edition in 1825 that the two volumes 'reach the *beau idéal* of what we desire from such records'.<sup>7</sup> It would not make sense to make such a statement about a manuscript. The statement is founded on an assumption about the desirability of publishing such records and implies the possibility of measuring the relative values of different records.

The entry of diaries and memoirs into the public domain and their acceptance by readers did not just happen, nor was it a phenomenon without a prehistory. It occurred, to begin with, along with other changes, all of which are linked - changing conceptions of history, the valuation of everyday (bourgeois) life, ideas about human nature and conceptions of individuality - and whose beginnings, in terms of a manifest interest in 'secret history', can be traced back to the second half of the eighteenth century. One way of measuring the extent to which the publication of diaries and memoirs was based on a new rationale can be seen in the

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<sup>7</sup> *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles-Lettres, arts and sciences*, No. 439, 18 June, 1825. p.385.



apparent tentativeness with which they were offered to the public. In a sense, this is the proof that they represented a new genre, because editors had to argue for their texts' place and function. The best way of thinking about this is to examine the terms editors, publishers and reviewers used to create a space for diaries and memoirs in the overall field of texts, or, to put it more bluntly in our own terminology, to look at the terms in which these diaries were 'sold' to the public. Within what conceptual framework could they be made intelligible as published texts?

Introductions to seventeenth-century diaries and memoirs in the first decades of the century (and the reviews which acted as midwives to them), were couched in terms aimed at reassuring readers that, while they may seem to contain a lot of trifling details, these texts could have general appeal, which was, in part, an appreciation of how people had lived their everyday lives in the past. Debates current about the nature of history - especially as those debates were focused on the merits of the historical novel - served as the major fortification for editors and reviewers of diaries and memoirs, because historical theories offered clues as to how those trifling details might be read. Part of the process of persuasion included opposing the importance of trifling details to what was seen as a prevailing view of the dignity of history.

In its enthusiastic review - or perhaps in this case 'puff'<sup>8</sup> - of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* (called "Memoirs") the *New Monthly Magazine*, quoted in my last chapter, the reviewer was certain that the publication would find its place in the overall field of texts: "Pepys's

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<sup>8</sup> The magazine's publisher, Henry Colburn, was also the publisher of Pepys's *Diary* and had a reputation as an expert "puffer". According to the *Wellesley Index* he was "one of the most astute publishers of the early nineteenth century. Highly aware of the taste and desires of his audience, he recognised more clearly than any of his competitors the efficacy of advertising, especially 'puffing'". Walter E. Houghton (ed.), *Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, Vol III, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979. p.161.

Memoirs will assuredly form a part of every good general library." Even though this sounds distinctly like an advertising slogan, the nature of its appeal anticipates possible uncertainty on the part of the reader as to the nature and value of the text. A similar appeal to general, rather than specialist, readership occurs in the lengthy quotation below from the first edition of the *Diary of Henry Teonge* (1825) where, as with the review of Pepys's *Diary* in the *New Monthly Magazine*, the editor suggests that Teonge's *Diary* might be of more than mere antiquarian interest. In the eighteenth century, the 'antiquary' could be a figure of fun, someone interested in details from the past for their own sake. Antiquarianism implied pedantic, arcane studies of information which might make some contribution to history, but which in itself provided knowledge which did not select the important material from the dross. In the early nineteenth century some aspects of antiquarian studies began to come onto history's mainstage. But there still seems to have been a sensitivity to the charge of indulging in 'mere' antiquarianism, as Scott's comments (discussed below) show.

Close attention to the *New Monthly Magazine's* review reveals a remaining disparity between the amount of 'trifling' details perceived to be acceptable to the general reader and to the antiquarian:

From the minuteness and the trifling nature of much of the details (says the editor) the MS. has been considerably abridged; and we readily believe with great advantage to the sale of the work; yet from the light which is thrown upon the manners and customs of the age, from the "prattle" which has been suffered to find its way into print, we cannot but think that the antiquary and the philosopher may yet glean valuable instruction from that which has been suppressed.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *New Monthly Magazine*, Vol.14, 1825. pp.97-98.

This passage is either ambiguous, or tactful, but it is worth noting the way the quotation marks around "prattle" serve to re-evaluate the kinds of details Braybrooke claimed to curtail, while at the same time serving to anticipate criticism. Whichever way we read this, the passage suggests that it was in the area of trifling details, or prattle, that the publication was perceived to be vulnerable. If we did not know of Colburn's paper's reputation for puffing, then we might read the suggestion that the abridgment makes the publication more marketable as being tinged with sarcasm. Whether or not this is the case, it is a good reminder that in 1825 commercial considerations could be at odds with perceived scholarly needs. If this review is taken as an exercise in pure promotion, the most cynical reading of it might be that, on the one hand, the anonymous reviewer lets the reader know that it is *because* of trifling details that the manuscript had been abridged, and this makes it more appealing to the buyer - it has been treated judiciously by the editor. On the other hand, since it is felt that the trifling details, as they stand, might not meet with the reader's approval, the reviewer appeals to the reader's intellectual sophistication by suggesting that the antiquary and scholar would want more of these details in order to understand the society to which Pepys belonged. In this way, it makes the existing trifling details acceptable, and gives them meaning. It also suggests that the publication has multiple appeal.

The passage is interesting, also, for the way it negotiates the terms "minuteness", "trifling details" and "prattle". What kind of critical force do these terms have? For Braybrooke, both according to his own preface to the first edition and as represented by this reviewer, the consideration of trifling details served as the principle of abridgment. This reviewer acknowledges that what might be judged trifling details, or "prattle", still



occur in the text and this is consistent with other reviews of the first edition. The perceived vulnerability of the text in this area forms the basis of this chapter.

This extract from a review of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* sets up some of the terms for an understanding of how publishers, editors and reviewers of seventeenth-century memoirs presented their texts to the public. Before going on to discuss the reception of Pepys's *Diary* it is interesting to see the same kind of terminology applied to other diaries and memoirs. The following passage from the introduction to the first edition of *The Diary of Henry Teonge*, published in early 1825, just before the publication of Pepys's *Diary*, shows the editor diffidently attempting to propose a public place for a text which may have been thought to be of antiquarian interest only:

The Manuscript, which is now first introduced to the Public, had been in the possession of a respectable Warwickshire family for more than a century. Like many other records of individual adventures and opinions, it had descended, as part of an old library, from one generation to another, without attracting any particular observation. It was at length accidentally offered to the Publisher for sale, as a curious volume that might interest some Collector. He was led to think its interest might be more extended. It appeared to him to present a very natural and faithful picture of customs and manners, as they existed in the English Navy at a period when it was fast rising into that importance which was to decide the rank of this country amongst the nations of the world; and it further offered some very singular results of the experience of an observing and intelligent mind, expressed often with peculiar force and humour, and exhibiting some curious indications of the probable average state of morals and intelligence amongst the conforming clergy of the time of Charles II. In this age, when authentic illustrations of particular times and characters are so eagerly sought, it was considered that the DIARY of HENRY TEONGE might afford amusement and instruction, not only to the antiquarian inquirer, but to the general reader; and that it might fairly claim some share of public notice, at a time when almost

every accession to our storehouse of facts is regarded with favour and curiosity.<sup>10</sup>

This passage expresses a number of points relevant to the subject of this chapter. The tenor of the editor's attempt to frame the text, to give a 'general reader' some idea of how it might be read in a non-specialist way, bears a strong resemblance to that in the prefaces to Reresby (1813), Evelyn (1818) and Pepys (1825). Each makes some attempt to excuse what might be considered trifling and unimportant details, while implying that these very details might furnish the reader with some amusement, if not instruction, about the manners and customs of the past. Underlying this, of course, is the assumption - not entirely new, but gaining popular currency - that the manners and customs of the past *have* significance. This can be clearly seen in Bray's preface to Evelyn's *Diary*, quoted below. As Teonge's editor suggests, "in this age", in 1825 (after the success of Evelyn's *Diary* and at a time when Scott's novels were at the peak of popularity) "authentic illustrations of particular times and characters are ... eagerly sought". That such illustrations are valuable - and will, therefore, be sought after - has at least been established in principle by this time. Part of the role assumed by the editor is to indicate in the preface why this text can be read in terms of that principle. It was suggested earlier that the sudden interest in diaries and memoirs at the beginning of the nineteenth century represented a new public genre. Teonge's editor attempts - though somewhat tentatively - to negotiate a public space for this new publication which has hitherto remained unknown. In so doing, he demonstrates an awareness that the desire for eyewitness accounts of the past has become a contemporary desideratum.

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<sup>10</sup> *The Diary of Henry Teonge*, London, 1825. pp. iii-iv.

It was also customary, in both prefaces and reviews, to recount the process by which the MS first came to light, often "rescued" by the editor, or a friend of the editor, from the obscurity in which it had lain for many years and the process by which it came to be published. Braybrooke's opening statement in his preface to the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*, for example, reads as follows: "In submitting the following pages to the Public, I feel that it is incumbent upon me to explain by what circumstances the materials from which the Work has been compiled were placed at my disposal".<sup>11</sup> Frequently, the attention the MS receives is said to be, as it is with that of Teonge, a matter of chance, or accident. Diary fiction, as H. Porter Abbott notes in an astute discussion of that form's "means of buttressing the illusion of the real", frequently mimics this tendency to recount the process of discovery and publication: "Frequently the convention employed is the 'editor's note' that explains with greater or less plausibility why so private a document would have wound up in the hands of the public".<sup>12</sup> While not, strictly speaking, belonging to the class

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<sup>11</sup> *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Richard, Lord Braybrooke, Frederick Warne & Co., London 18\_. p.vii. (This is taken from "The Chandos Classics" reprint of the first edition.)

<sup>12</sup> H. Porter Abbott, *Diary Fiction: Writing as Action*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1984. p.19. See also Lorna Martens, *The Diary Novel*, Cambridge University Press, 1985. especially pp.24-38, and Trevor Field, *Form and Function in the Diary Novel*, Macmillan, London, 1989. Several observations of importance to my topic emerge from all of these books. First, both Martens (p.55) and Abbott (p.18) indicate whole novels written in the diary form did not appear until the end of the eighteenth century. But both also agree, in Martens's terms, that "diary fiction can be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century". (p.55) Field, like Abbott and Martens notes that the real evolution of the diary novel began at the start of the nineteenth century. So, the publication of real diaries and the writing of fictional diaries emerged around the same time. It is important, however, not to forget the use of diaries in fiction from the beginning of the eighteenth century. *Robinson Crusoe* is a prime example. Given that in this chapter I am suggesting readers in the early nineteenth century had to learn how to give the trifling details in Pepys's *Diary* historical meaning, the following quotation from Martens is interesting, because it suggests that until the early nineteenth century, diaries had been understood in at least quasi-religious and moral terms, rather than in secular terms. This fits with the pre-nineteenth-century pattern of publication emerging from Matthews's *British Diaries*. Another way of expressing my argument might be to say that it was not the trifling details of everyday life *per se* that readers had to make intelligible, but that they needed to find a way of making those details signify within a secular



of fictional diary, Leigh Hunt's fictional seventeenth-century memoir, *Sir Ralph Esher*, uses this kind of convention as part of a number of 'authenticating' strategies. Abbott's observations draw our attention to the fact that this convention is not without meaning, and it gives rise to some fascinating questions. In the first place, he suggests that as it was incorporated into fiction in the eighteenth century, the diary, "like the device of letters, 'true narratives', and confessions" was used to give the "illusion of a literary found object, something that people write, but is not supposed to be art"<sup>13</sup>. Diary fiction attempts to validate its claim to be real by pretending to be a found object, but part of setting up the illusion is that readers have to be told how it came to be found. How does this relate to the publication of real diaries? If diary fiction relies on the illusion of the artlessness of the real diary that is because the artlessness of the real diary is perceived to be the result of its never being intended to be read by anyone but the writer, nor published. Automatically, publication violates the imputed motivation behind the text. One way of preserving that intention, therefore, is to give readers the impression that if it had not "accidentally" been found it would have remained unread, true to the writer's intentions.

It may well be, too, that for the 'discoverers', finding the MS *felt* as if it was accidental, without their recognising that the intellectual climate of

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framework robbed of a religious or moral referent. Martens writes: '...even in the early nineteenth century the diary form was not completely taken for granted in fiction. While a novelist could write a novel in letters without further ado, the authors of diary novels frequently felt called upon to explain, or let their protagonists explain, their unconventional choice of form. Authors writing around 1800 tended to try to avert the possible misconception that the journal to follow was a traditionally conceived pedagogical or religious instrument devoid of sentimental interest. Novels that adopted the fiction of the intimate diary had to contend with a changing real model; it was not yet entirely self-evident that "diary" implied that an uninhibited confession of the secret life and emotions of the diarist, and not a methodical, moralizing record of virtues, vices, and petty events, was in store. (Martens, pp.92-93). If this was a difficulty with fictional diaries, then it implies the same difficulty in reading real diaries.

<sup>13</sup>Abbott, p.19.

the times predisposed them to notice a document which, fifty years earlier, they might have passed over. The manuscripts of both Pepys's and Evelyn's diaries had not been unknown in the previous century. William Upcott, who assisted William Bray in preparing the first edition of Evelyn's *Diary*, wrote in 1844 that when in 1813, on a visit to Wotton, he had expressed interest in the Evelyn MSS to the then Lady Evelyn, she had said: "Bless me, [...] if here isn't old Sylva's Diary; why I haven't seen it for years! I once lent it to Lord Harcourt, to Lord Liverpool, and to Mr Bray, who wished me to print it. But I don't think it would interest the public, nor prove of sufficient importance to repay the expense of printing".<sup>14</sup> In the preface to the first edition, Bray mentions that Lady Evelyn consented to the publication of the MSS only after "much solicitation from many persons" and in presenting the text to the public, he echoes Lady Evelyn's doubts, though with a different intention:

The Editor, who has been intrusted with the preparation of the work for the press, is fully diffident of his competence to make a proper selection, and is even aware that many things will be found in its pages which, in the opinion of some, and not injudicious, critics, may appear too unimportant to meet the public eye: but it has been thought that some information, at least some amusement, would be furnished by the publication; it has been supposed that some curious particulars of persons and transactions would be found in the accompanying notes; and that, though these papers may not be of importance enough to appear in the pages of an Historian of the Kingdom, they may in some particulars set even such an one right ...<sup>15</sup>

What appear to have been genuine doubts on Lady Evelyn's part are turned around. Interestingly, Bray suggests that this publication might

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<sup>14</sup> E. de Beer (Ed.) *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Vol. 1, Introduction and *DE VITA PROPRIA* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955) p.54.

<sup>15</sup> William Bray (Ed.) *The Diary and Memoirs of John Evelyn*, (1818) pp.v-vi.

form a supplement to history, but that it might not find its way into history proper.

Both these prefaces show an awareness that the texts have to find their place in the overall field of texts. In other words, published diaries from the past which were not ballasted by religious interest, wars, journeys and so on, represented, *as* published texts, a new genre which readers had to learn to read.

The publication of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* can be historicised by looking at the concept of 'trifling details' from our own perspective. It makes little sense to us who are used to the idea of social history, to the validity of individual experience through oral history and to the historical importance of everyday life, to use such a term as 'trifling details' as it is used for some of the content of Pepys's *Diary* and in contradistinction to mainstream history. Even those who endorsed the historical value of the first edition employed 'trifling details' or a similar term, to describe some of the contents. What occurred between the time of the first and third editions was a re-evaluation of those trifling details, but the concept itself remained in use, suggesting that it had meaning in the first half of the century. In the second half of the century it was used less and less in relation to Pepys's *Diary*, not occurring at all in the reviews of Wheatley's edition in the 1890s. It is too easy to lose sight of the real significance of this terminology in the light of the text's later acceptance. Not to see the real influence of the tension which existed at this time between, on the one hand, an older, but still prevailing, idea about the dignity of history, with its generalising narratives, and on the other, a growing, but not yet established, appreciation of precisely the trifling details which Braybrooke omitted, is to dismiss the first editor's



abridgment out of hand as misguided and completely out of step with his readers, as commentators regularly did in the second half of the century.

Pepys In the eighteenth century, the trifling details of everyday life, could be given dignity, importance and meaning in the context of biography, but they were nevertheless kept in a separate category from history's general survey. Some of Samuel Johnson's comments about biography and history show this clearly. While an interest in social history began in the eighteenth, certain Enlightenment ideas, such as that of the uniformity of human nature and the generalising function of history, inhibited the historicist dimensions of its development. What we see in the early nineteenth century is an attempt, governed by changing views about the past, to accommodate those trifling details to history itself, to make them signify, at the manifest level, within historical parameters. The publication of Pepys's *Diary* in 1825 came at a time of transition and the *Diary* itself contributed to the acceptance of the trifling details of everyday life as essential to history.

For the rest of this chapter I want to move backwards in time to the eighteenth century, and then forwards to the publication of the third edition of Pepys's *Diary* in 1848 in order to narrow the focus on the era in which Pepys's *Diary* was first published. The broad movement I wish to discuss is one beginning in the eighteenth century when trifling details (by which I mean expressions of people's everyday lives) were consigned to the category of biography and left out of history, and ending with the integration of those trifling details as an essential element of history. Another way of describing this is in terms of the development in the early nineteenth century of a historicist view of the past. But that will be the subject of the fourth chapter.

Several convenient measures can be used to judge the extent and nature of the shift in historical thinking as it affected the publication of Pepys' *Diary*. Tracing changes in generic definitions is one of these. History proper, fiction and biography were differently distinguished in the middle of the eighteenth century than in the early nineteenth century. It is not necessarily that they were more clearly and sharply distinguished, though that may appear to be the case, but that the grounds upon which they were distinguished were different. Having said that, it may seem contradictory to assert that what seems to happen in the early nineteenth century is that these genres were spoken about as sharing common features *within the general field of history*. Historical novels, history, diaries and memoirs, biographies and autobiographies were brought into closer proximity in the early nineteenth century. What it was that brought them into closer proximity could be described by several histories - changes in the relationship between the public and the private, the increasing legitimation of the ordinary person's experience, an increasing emphasis on material progress, which led to more meaning being given (in texts) to material surroundings. But one of the most significant elements bringing these genres into closer proximity was the increasing appreciation of the historical value of trifling details, the details of everyday life. Everyday life began to signify and impinge on the dignity of history. Two related ideas differentiated eighteenth-century genres from those in the early nineteenth century - propriety, in the sense that certain subjects were appropriate to certain genres, and the uniformity of human nature. History was generalised and dignified. Biography, while showing private life, and the minutiae of private life, should only show what was common to us all.

It was common in the early nineteenth century to suggest, as an 1832 *Edinburgh Review* article on Walter Scott did, that the best history was like the "biography of a nation".<sup>16</sup> Although he elevated biography, and sometimes placed it above history, because its power to instruct came from its ability to engage the reader's sympathies to a greater degree than history, which was too remote from the reader's own experience, Samuel Johnson could not have called history the biography of a nation. To begin with, Johnson shows the degree to which he adhered to the idea of the uniformity of human nature and how, in turn, the private sphere represented a realm which remained relatively untouched by the events of history. This is a fundamentally different view from that of historicism, in which individual experience is conceived of historically, that is, as inseparable from the historical conditions in which it takes place and which shapes it. What characterises an eighteenth-century view of history as different from that of the nineteenth century is that in the earlier period history was seen as the play of events over a relatively unchanging society. Because of this the trifling details of everyday life are themselves a-historical.

In *Rambler* No. 60 Johnson suggests that 'there is such a uniformity in the state of man, considered apart from adventitious and separable decorations and disguises, that there is scarce any possibility of good or ill, but is common to human kind'.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in *Idler* No. 51. Johnson remarks:

such is the constitution of the world that much of life must be spent in the same manner by the wise and the ignorant, the exalted and the low. Men, however distinguished by external accidents or

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<sup>16</sup>T.H. Lister, "Tales of My Landlord", *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 55, April, 1832. p.78.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Rambler* No. 60 (13 October, 1750) in *Samuel Johnson: Selected Poetry and Prose* Ed. Frank Brady and W.K. Wimsatt (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1977) p.182.



intrinsic qualities, have all the same wants, the same pains, and, as far as the senses are consulted, the same pleasures.<sup>18</sup>

The truth of both of these pronouncements to Johnson's thinking about individual lives is demonstrated clearly in the remainder of *Rambler* 60, by the way he talks about people from both the distant and nearer past - Thuanus, Catiline, Melancthon, DeWitt, Addison, Malherbe - in terms which are distinctly a-historical and which 'prove' their common humanity. The very fact that he calls up these characters in order to compare them illustrates his dictum. This is an important point to grasp, because it marks the difference between the eighteenth-century point of view and a historicist appreciation of trifling details. It is a point to be kept in mind, too, in a later part of the discussion of the first reviews of Pepys's *Diary* because traces of Johnson's a-historical approach to trifling details, shaped by a view of uniform human nature, resurface in criticisms of Braybrooke's first edition. The fact that the minutiae of everyday life is humanity's common denominator, uniting Catiline and DeWitt, Addison and Malherbe, both across countries and across time, means that these minutiae have no affect on history, which describes change. For some reviewers of Pepys, similarly, the trifling details were amusing and entertaining, and could even give a picture of the life of the past, but they did not constitute history.

Much cited as this article of Johnson's has been, it is worth quoting from at length in order to see how some of what it says seems very close to nineteenth-century ideas - particularly with regard to later nineteenth-century notions about the gap between the public and private - while the overall intellectual context in which Johnson's remarks are framed clearly distinguish them from nineteenth-century historicist thinking. This is

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<sup>18</sup>Samuel Johnson, *Idler* No. 51, in Brady and Wimsatt, pp. 250-251.

particularly true with regard to the evaluation of the everyday details of private life. Johnson's manifest concern in the *Rambler* article is with the kind of subject matter best able to engage a reader for the purpose of instruction:

It is not easy for the most artful writer to give us an interest in happiness or misery which we think ourselves never likely to feel, and with which we have never yet been made acquainted. Histories of the downfall of kingdoms, and revolutions of empires, are read with great tranquillity; the imperial tragedy pleases common auditors only by its pomp of ornament and grandeur of ideas; and the man whose faculties have been engrossed by business and whose heart never fluttered but at the rise or fall of stocks, wonders how the attentions can be seized by a tale of love.

Those parallel circumstances, and kindred images, to which we readily conform our minds, are, above all other writings, to be found in narratives of the lives of particular persons; and therefore no species of writing seems more worthy of cultivation than biography, since none can be more delightful or more useful, none can more certainly enchain the heart by irresistible interest, or more widely diffuse instruction to every diversity of condition.

The general and rapid narratives of history, which involve a thousand fortunes in the business of a day, and complicate innumerable incidents in one great transaction, afford a few lessons applicable to private life, which derives its comforts and its wretchedness from the right or wrong management of things which nothing but their frequency makes considerable, *Parva, si non fiant quotidie*, says Pliny, and which can have no place in those relations which never descend below the consultation of senates, the motions of armies, and the schemes of conspirators.<sup>19</sup>

History is an overview, generalised beyond the individual's daily experience. Furthermore, both in this article and in the *Idler* No. 51, everyday life, which reduces even the great to the status of common humanity, deflates and ironises the greatness of history. This is a point I will pick up again later in reference to Isaac D'Israeli and the concern with "secret history". In a sense, Johnson suggests that everyday life, by

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<sup>19</sup>*Rambler* 60, Brady and Wimsatt, p.182.

revealing the person behind the mask, offers the real truths about people: "It has commonly been remarked that eminent men are least eminent at home, that bright characters lose much of the splendour at a nearer view, and many who fill the world with their fame excite very little reverence among those that surround them in their domestic privacies".<sup>20</sup> This is not too far from some of the comments made about Pepys. Walter Scott, for example, opens his review of Pepys's *Diary* with a clear echo of Johnson's opinion that in such memoirs we come close to the man behind the mask. Again, in language which finds many echoes in the early nineteenth century, Johnson suggests that in writing about great people, the biographer should "pass slightly over those performances and incidents, which produce vulgar greatness, to lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life, where exterior appendages are cast aside, and men excel each other only by prudence and by virtue".<sup>21</sup> For Johnson, then, the 'minute details of daily life' signify and they also acquire meaning by undercutting the apparent dignity of public appearances and history. Nevertheless, while the pretensions of history can be deflated by private lives and trifling details, Johnson does not take the step Isaac D'Israeli later took in his essays in an attempt to unite the details of everyday life with public history.

Johnson's ideas about the importance of 'minute details' were advanced when he is compared with his contemporaries for whom the 'doctrine of dignity' excluded demeaning trifles.<sup>22</sup> That his appreciation of

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<sup>20</sup> *Idler* No.51, Brady and Wimsatt, p.250.

<sup>21</sup> *Rambler* No.60, Brady and Wimsatt, p.183.

<sup>22</sup> See Robert Folkenflik, *Samuel Johnson, Biographer*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1978, especially chapter 2, "'Trifles with Dignity': The Task of Johnsonian Biography". pp.29-55. Folkenflik notes that Johnson was attacked for giving importance to trifling details. See p.29. Folkenflik also notes that Johnson's elevation of domestic life did not represent a dominant point of view in an age which appreciated great men and heroes. See pp.34-35 and fn. 8.



domestic ordinariness did not represent widely held opinion can perhaps be seen in the way his arguments appear to be designed to persuade. Robert Folkenflik suggests, however, that the "distinction between the dignity of history and the usefulness of biography ... had become one of the commonplaces of eighteenth-century historical writing".<sup>23</sup> Both had their function, but they belonged in separate categories, referring to different spheres of action. As later discussion indicates, the idea of the 'dignity of history' and what was proper to its province, still found expression in the early nineteenth century, although by that time it not only sounded old-fashioned, but distinctly patrician.

Changing attitudes towards biography, autobiography, diaries and memoirs during the second half of the eighteenth century fed into the development of the new historical consciousness of the nineteenth century. In part the revaluation of these genres was, like historicism, part of the breakdown of the *ancien régime* and a change in the conception of individuality. As Wordsworth so astutely noticed in the passage forming the epigraph to this chapter, taking account of those outside one's own privileged and educated class amounts to a change in view of human nature itself, because it necessitates finding a different locus of human nature, if not a more diverse view of it. From the late eighteenth century, social forces impelled history to enfranchise ordinary people of the past, just as they were being enfranchised in the present. It was inevitable that the everyday life which Johnson saw as deflating history's grandeur should, as history itself became more the history of the nation and the people, rather than that of the ruling classes, eventually become absorbed into history.

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* p.34

The publication of Pepys's *Diary*: belonged to a period, if not of democratisation, then certainly of bourgeoisification. History began to include more of the everyday life of ordinary people of the past because the everyday life of the middle classes in the present exerted more pressure on political and social life. One of the indices of this change is a decided impatience in the mid century with the cavalier treatment of texts by "Noble Editors". *Sharpe's London Magazine* sums up its second notice of the third edition by suggesting that Braybrooke is only to be thanked for giving us Pepys's text, not for the careless way in which he has treated it: "his notes are of little value, and he has left much unnoticed which he ought to have thrown light upon."<sup>24</sup> The next sentence is openly damning of Braybrooke, but the terms in which it is so come from new attitudes to scholarly rigour and the remainder of the review is a fairly frank class attack:

An industrious and erudite man would have turned out *such* materials in a very different style. ... The punctuation of the volume is excessively bad, and it abounds with clerical errors, the effect of inefficiency for the task undertaken. In these days when the aristocracy engage so prominently in literature they must not complain if we regard them merely as "authors" and measure out to them the quantum of praise and blame which is accorded to unknown and untitled writers. Indeed, as the former have everything in their favour - leisure for composition and opportunity for revision - ... they have no right to expect more than strict justice, they have no pretext for claiming indulgence."<sup>25</sup>

The argument - discussed in the last chapter - conducted in the *Illustrated London News* between John Smith and Ralph Neville Grenville and the distinctly unsympathetic response of the paper to both the latter and the late Lord Braybrooke, gain a deeper context when we see the extent of this anti-aristocratic feeling. It is important, however, not to take the above

<sup>24</sup>*Sharpe's London Magazine*, Vol. 8 Nov. 1848 - Feb 1849. p.182.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

quotation at face-value. The impression is given by the phrase "in these days" that aristocratic engagement in literature has increased. It may be, however, that a change in values, which in the broadest terms, accompanied the decline of the *ancien régime*, sensitized bourgeois readers to any suggestion that they were being patronised from above and that therefore aristocratic editors, like Braybrooke, became more visible targets. In a review of the first four volumes of the *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence* of the poet Tom Moore (8 volumes, 1853 - 1856), the *Westminster Review* (1853) mounted an attack on the editor Lord John Russell which sounds many of the same anti-aristocratic notes found in reviews of the third edition of Pepys's *Diary*.

We cannot allow that "press of public business" is any excuse for the way in which the editor has performed his task; "what is worth doing at all, is worth doing well;" and had Lord John felt himself unable to bestow sufficient time upon the task, he should have intrusted it to the care of some one more competent as more disengaged and painstaking. Still less can we think, with some of his reviewers, that the condescension of the "noble Lord" in editing at all compensates for the carelessness of his performance. Heaven preserve us from such condescension! We have a vulgar prejudice in favour of a good editor, though a plebeian, over a duke's son, who ... takes such slight pains over his labour of love. ... But while we deny that any condescension can atone for what ... is so very like no editing at all, we deny, quite as emphatically, that there is any peculiar condescension in the case. Lord John Russell would himself, we know, be the first to repudiate any such weak plea as sundry of his critics have put it on his behalf. There was, doubtless, once a time in English history when the aristocrat would associate on no other than dishonouring terms with the plebeian man of letters; but - *nous avons changé tout cela*.<sup>26</sup>

The common features in this and the quotation above from *Sharpe's London Magazine*, the association of the aristocratic editor with both a condescending attitude towards his "generosity" to readers, with laziness

<sup>26</sup> "The Life of Moore", *Westminster Review*, Vol.4, July, 1853. p.166.



and sloppiness in the task of editing; the assumption that a "plebeian" would acquit the task with greater thoroughness and more rigour; and the implication that aristocratic editors cannot, by virtue of their position, plead a special case, but must be subject to the same critical evaluations as anyone else, are all, I suggest, symptomatic of the deep structural changes - bourgeoisification for shorthand - which simultaneously led to the dismantling of the old notion of the dignity of history and a greater appreciation of what the 'trivial details' in Pepys's *Diary* signified - the everyday life of ordinary people in the past.

If we return now to the responses to Braybrooke's first edition, we can see, on the one hand, a far more ambivalent appraisal of both the trifling details and Braybrooke's editing than the 1848 reviews demonstrated, but on the other hand, an attempt to integrate those details in a way wholly uncharacteristic of eighteenth century thinking. I mentioned earlier that a tension existed between the older view of the dignity of history (and a kind of propriety that goes along with it), and the so-called trifling details which were becoming historically interesting. The *New Monthly Magazine* typifies the way this tension could be expressed through ambivalent feelings about the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*. On the one hand, it concedes that too many "trifling details" might impair the sale of the book by boring the reader with irrelevancies. This seems also to have been Braybrooke's approach. In cutting out the "most trifling occurrences in [Pepys's] life", he says, "the greatest care has been taken to preserve the original meaning." The frequency of Pepys's notices of theatrical performances, a great number of which Braybrooke retained, might be "fatiguing" to "those readers who have no taste for the concerns of the Drama". And, he says, "the general details may also, in some instances, even in their abridged form, be considered as *too minute*".

(Emphasis mine.) Braybrooke wished to give an *impression* of "the manners and habits of [Pepys's] age" without descending to small detail, almost as if the small details are somehow undignified, and beneath the notice of a well-adjusted mind. On the other hand, from a reading of the text as published, the *New Monthly Magazine* also acknowledges that it is the trifling details, the "prattle", which in fact constitute the material illustrating the manners and habits of the age.

There is no doubt that despite its rather large price-tag the first edition was popular and even caused a minor stir in literary circles. Beginning on Saturday, 18 June, 1825, the *Literary Gazette* took advantage of an unforeseen delay in the publication of the *Diary* giving its readers advance notice of the work. It went on to print a total of nine notices, sprinkling extracts from the *Diary* throughout the paper for the remainder of the year under a number of headings: history, manners, fashions, the drama, literature, science, anecdote. This approach says something about the complexity of response to the text. In the paper's third notice we find a clue both to the text's popularity and to the perceived drawback of its price:

The undiminished, or rather increased interest with which our last number, containing another large portion of review of this work, was received by the public, induces us to continue our notice at considerable length. Indeed, as the book is one of a price not suitable to every class of reader, and as even libraries cannot circulate it very fast, in consequence of the time it must take every individual to peruse it, we feel that by far the greater portion of those who take our Gazette will approve of our occupying more of its pages in this case than is usual with a single publication. That publication we certainly consider to be unique in value, if not the very foremost of its kind.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Literary Gazette; and Journal of Belles-Lettres, arts, Sciences etc.* No..441 2 July, 1825. p.423.

One could suggest here that circulation through the libraries might have been considerably slower had Braybrooke printed the whole text. The paper states that the passages quoted are those which show the manners of the age. For the *New Monthly Magazine*, Pepys's *Diary* comes as a "perfect godsend" in "the general dearth of interesting publications which has marked the current literary season".<sup>28</sup> In May, 1826, in an article entitled "The Last Number of the Quarterly Review", the *London Magazine* mounted an attack on its ideological rival. Walter Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary*, the lead article for volume 33, number 66, appeared in the first half of 1826, long after most other journals had run their notices. (All the others had appeared in the previous year, except the review in the *British Critic* and the second notice - "Manners of the Court of Charles II" - in the *London Magazine* itself, both of which appeared in January, 1826.) With undisguised vitriol towards both the editor of the *Quarterly* and Walter Scott, Charles Barker accuses the paper of cashing in on the popularity of Pepys's *Diary*:

The policy of the new editor appears to have been, to render this number as inviting as possible on the surface, and to steal in his heavier lucubrations in the intervals of more taking articles, as the apothecary cheats his patient into taking his pills, by covering them with a coat of sugar. It could be with no other view than this, that the thrice three-times-sacked *Diary* of Pepys is placed in the front, particularly as the Reviewer's observations are neither very new, nor very striking.<sup>29</sup>

Whatever the truth of Barker's interpretation, it tells us that in a little over six months, Pepys's *Diary* had obtained the kind of popularity which a cynic could regard as capable of commercial exploitation. Given the

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<sup>28</sup>*New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 14, pt. II, 1825. p.110.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Barker, "The Last Number of the quarterly Review", *London Magazine*, May, 1826. p.117



comments of the *Literary Gazette* attributing its increased sales as a result of printing substantial amounts of Pepys's *Diary* and universal comments about the price of the publication - the *Eclectic Review* noted that the price rendered the volumes "hardly accessible to a large class of readers"<sup>30</sup> - it may be that the *Quarterly* did lead with Scott's review in order to boost sales in the awareness that readers who could not afford the publication really could get a fair sampling from reviews. (To a present-day reader, the reviews of the time include a remarkable portion of quotation from the text under review.) The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for example, for all that it claimed to hold little regard for the historical value of the text, printed almost five, uninterrupted pages from Pepys's writing about the Great Fire. Almost without exception the reviewers mentioned the unreasonable price, and several refer to the unwieldiness of the volumes. I suggested in the last chapter that the physical appearance of the first edition emulated the earlier publications of the *Memoirs* of Reresby and the *Diary* of John Evelyn. It may be that Braybrooke and the publishers intended Pepys's *Diary* to appear as if it belonged to what might loosely be a 'set' of publications. And this, in turn, resulted from uncertainty as to the value of the text on its own, without the added value of a lavish publication. Obviously Braybrooke need not have worried.

Charles Barker in "The Last Number of the Quarterly Review" goes on to accuse Scott of an uncritical evasion in his review of one of the principal historical lessons to be drawn from Pepys's text: the political abuses perpetrated by monarchical government: "As it is, the reviewer is a model of the placid and the serene; and leaving the 'upper abuses' on one side, without so much as casting his stone upon the heap that honest indignation has accumulated over their grave, he condescendingly follows

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<sup>30</sup>*Eclectic Review* Vol 42, July, 1825. p. 76

Mr. Pepys into the details of his wardrobe and household".<sup>31</sup> As with other reviewers mentioned above, Barker calls the publication "voluminous".<sup>32</sup> The paper's own two reviews of Pepys's *Diary*, discussed in more detail below, are written from a perspective which sees Pepys as belonging to the middle ranks of society. As a result of this position, he is better able to convey the "true" state of society than those above or below him: "it is as unfair to draw inferences from the conduct of Kings as from that of beggars - both, it is well known, being subject to similar disadvantages, the one being as much above the control of public opinion, as the others below it".<sup>33</sup> The reviewer's conclusion is that it is from "persons of the middle rank", such as Pepys, that just conclusions about the state of society can be drawn. This contains observations of considerable significance both to the general intellectual and cultural climate of the times and (related to that) an understanding of how the "trifling details" in Pepys's *Diary* were evaluated. To begin with, it is notable in this review that "public opinion" is aligned with the middle ranks, not with "extremes" and that for the bulk of the review, that alignment is ranged against the aristocratic classes rather than the "lower" extreme. History, the article claims, rather like the "human nature" Wordsworth speaks of in the epigraph to this chapter, has hitherto been the preserve of certain classes: "Whilst the wisdom of our parliamentary ancestors - our Bishops, Kings, and Lords - is written down ... in indelible black and white, the history of the Commons is a blank".<sup>34</sup> At the very beginning of the review, the writer claims that when "gossip" descends to posterity it "becomes valuable information" because it gives us the

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<sup>31</sup> *London Magazine*, May, 1826. p.117

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* p.116

<sup>33</sup> "Manners of the Court of Charles II" *London Magazine*, Vol 14, January, 1826. p.112.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* p.106



"minutiae of life that are requisite to be known, in order to the formation of correct opinions in manners and the conditions of society". Taking these comments together, we can see how the reviewer legitimises the trifling details and makes them intelligible in historical terms. He positions Pepys's perspective, validating its representativeness, and suggests that history virtually never gives us the kind of information available in the *Diary*. At the same time, he tells us that history has always been preoccupied with the lives of the upper and privileged classes. It is because of these alignments that the *Diary* "comprises every advantage that can be looked for in a memoir of the age - an abstract or chronicle of the fleeting manners and customs of mankind; fulness, minuteness, veracity".<sup>35</sup> The later part of this review will be discussed in my next chapter for the way in which it attempts to define the greater truth value of Pepys's text against Scott's historical novels. Historical novelists, the reviewer concludes, should "take their costume and manners from the Diary of Mr. Pepys. The reality will be found much more taking than fiction."<sup>36</sup>

This raises a point which foreshadows my discussion in the fourth chapter regarding early nineteenth-century conceptions of history and their influence on the publication of Pepys's *Diary*. It is quite clear that many early nineteenth-century debates about the nature of history in England were conducted in reviews of Walter Scott's historical novels. Because of the nature of the object under discussion - that is, the novels - a chief focus of these debates concerned the differentiation of history and fiction, what kind of truth value can be attached to historical fiction, and what historical authenticity means. The review of Pepys's *Diary* just

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<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* p.108.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p 118



quoted demonstrates that it, too, was a text - a *key* text - over which competing historical arguments ranged, opinions were tested and, in turn, modified and influenced by the text itself. One of the reasons for calling the study *Performing Pepys* is to highlight precisely this kind of dynamic function of the text and to show the degree to which its meaning was contested and shaped by early nineteenth-century concerns. Current debates about the nature of history did not simply provide a background to which the text was accommodated. As a text implicated in contemporary debates in the dynamic way I describe, Braybrooke's first edition also attracts the notion of 'performance' because it had about it an air of provisionality, of an unknown quantity, or even of an experiment. This sense of performance highlights the importance of immediate critical reception. Clearly, the physical proportions and price of the first edition failed to impress the critics. The second edition appeared in octavo at a lower price. But the experimental nature of the first edition is supported not only by the more obvious comments relating to the quality of the editing, but to the way many of the reviews open with attempts to describe just what kind of publication this is and why it might be worth reading. Francis Jeffrey, for example, opens thus: "We have a great indulgence, we confess, for the taste, or curiosity, or whatever it may be called, that gives its value to *such publications as this*".<sup>37</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Walter Scott also begins his review obliquely, taking a three-page excursion through the merits and demerits first of letter-writing, then of diary-writing, before mentioning the publication under review. His opening sentence, like the more tentative Jeffrey, gestures towards the need not only to persuade readers of the value of this particular

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<sup>37</sup> Francis Jeffrey "Memoirs of Samuel Pepys" *Edinburgh Review*, Vol.43, no.23. Nov. 1825. pp.23-24.

publication, but to orient their thinking in terms of the class of publication to which it belongs: "There is a curiosity implanted in our nature which receives much gratification from prying into the actions, feelings, and sentiments of our fellow creatures".<sup>38</sup> A novel might be judged either a good or a bad novel according to a number of standards, but it is on the strength of its quality as a novel that a reviewer will recommend it to readers. It is not necessary to begin a review by mounting a justification in epistemological terms as to how the novel might be read. Yet this is the tenor of reviews of Pepys's *Diary*. There seems to have been a perceived need to provide a perceptual framework within which this kind of publication might be understood, given meaning and found interesting. "There is a *kind of information* relating to times past"<sup>39</sup>, the *London Magazine* says, which, though denominated gossip, becomes "valuable information" with the passing of time. "This *species of knowledge* history does not even attempt to supply; to the privacy of individuals it rarely descends". (Emphasis mine in both quotations.) As with the reviews of both Jeffrey and Scott, this article makes a long approach to the text itself, attempting to "frame" it before discussing it specifically. The language of the last two quotations - "there is a kind of information" and "this species of knowledge" - indicate the epistemological orientation of this framing.

This says nothing about the actual *content* of this species of knowledge and, if we look at the introduction to the 1734 edition of the *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, one of the few memoirs published before the nineteenth century, we can see a similar need to orient readers, but to a different perspective. Comparing this preface with that of the 1813 edition is also instructive. The preface to the 1734 edition says: "To insist on the

<sup>38</sup>Walter Scott, "Memoirs of Samuel Pepys", *Quarterly Review*, Vol.33, no.66, 1826. p.281.

<sup>39</sup>"Manners of the Court of Charles II" p 105.

value of works of this nature, when they come from men of real knowledge and understanding, were only to repeat what the wisest men have often said for us".<sup>40</sup> The editor's pitch is an attempt to persuade and reassure readers of Reresby's qualifications as a reasonable and impartial judge of the political events of his day. The rhetoric focuses on eliciting, in advance, the reader's trust in Sir John's objectivity: "The reader, we believe will be convinced that Sir John was a person very equal to the task he undertook ..."; "The reader will, we hope, find in him an impartiality rarely met with ..."; "This, and what goes before, might be sufficient to bespeak the reader in his favour ...". In the Introduction to the 1936 edition, Andrew Browning notes that the 1734 edition had a purely political purpose and was designed to provide a "moderate account of the part played by the Tories in previous reigns, which should commend their attitude to as large a circle as possible".<sup>41</sup> As time went on, Browning adds, the political importance of the publication decreased and its historical importance increased.<sup>42</sup> There is nothing surprising in this, given the intention of the first publication, but it is nevertheless interesting to look at the different way in which the 1813 edition (substantially the same text as the 1734 edition but with the addition of Reresby's "Travels") introduces the volume to the reader. In the 1734 edition, Reresby is invoked as an impartial observer to validate public events. But the introduction to the 1813 edition fits a very different view of public events themselves, and of history. By the end of the eighteenth century there was a growing perception that the public narratives of history could be undermined or even subverted by a knowledge of the private life of the

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<sup>40</sup> In a 4to. edition of the *Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby* (1813) the preface to the 1734 edition is printed pp.159-160. This quotation comes from p.159.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Browning (Ed.) *Memoirs of John Reresby*, (Jackson, Son and Co., Glasgow, 1936.) p.ix

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.* p.xi



individual actors. What seems to have happened over the period from the late eighteenth century to around the 1830s is that this developed into a more general case from the idea that individual private lives could subvert history - as it had been known - to one in which everyday life itself, the everyday life of the public, could be a force acting against the chronicles of the ruling classes. Eventually, from being a force subverting the older, grander view of history, the everyday life of the public became an intrinsic part of history itself.

Here I want to foreshadow later discussion by pointing to how stages in this change of view register in the prefaces and introductions to diaries and memoirs. I have already suggested that for an eighteenth-century thinker like Samuel Johnson, who found domestic and private life to be one of the seats of our common humanity, there was still a strict separation between the category of biography, which depended on elucidating private lives, and history which was a generalising and abstract narrative. If we imagine this to represent the older view of history, beginning, at the end of the eighteenth century, to be assailed by the process of bourgeoisification, and the mid nineteenth-century reviews of Pepys's *Diary* to represent a new orientation on the past, illustrated by the acceptance of Pepys's text *as* history *because* of the wealth of detail about private and domestic life - both of these the outer limits of the period of change I am discussing - then a key transitional term in this century-long process, one used between the last decades of the eighteenth century, but having a distinctly old-fashioned ring about it by 1825, is the term "secret history". The term would seem to be self-explanatory and I would suggest that the reason it fell out of use was because in the first half of the nineteenth century, the kind of information deemed secret history, and the sources from which that information came, became part of

mainstream history, no longer 'secret'. The word 'secret' itself, in this context, implies the power to subvert through the revelation of what has been both hidden and repressed. Once that "kind of information" becomes accepted as historically legitimate, it makes no sense to call it secret.

The great champion of secret history at the end of the eighteenth century was Isaac D'Israeli, who says in his essay "The True Sources of Secret History": "Secret history is the supplement of history itself, and is its great corrector".<sup>43</sup> D'Israeli's essays remained popular throughout the nineteenth century and he stands as a key figure in the transition from eighteenth-century views of history to nineteenth century historicism because of his insistence on the importance of 'arcane' researches and secret history. Without going into too much detail here, several of D'Israeli's comments can be adduced as support for the idea that secret history and the trifling details it embodied formed part of the cutting edge of emergent ideas about the past. Unearthing diaries and memoirs and discussing how readers might approach them were intrinsic elements in this change. Good history, according to D'Israeli, should consist of a combination of secret history and public history. But the value of secret history is not always appreciated because, as it "appears to deal in minute things, its connexion with great results is not suspected".<sup>44</sup> Here D'Israeli recognises the point of view which arises in some of the reviews of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*. The minute and trifling details, which may be of interest in biography and may also be entertaining, are nevertheless irrelevant to history proper. This kind of separation depends in part on seeing history as the march of political events over the top of an everyday life, which itself arises from a transhistorical and uniform human nature.

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<sup>43</sup> Isaac D'Israeli, "The True Sources of Secret History" in *Curiosities of Literature*, Vol 3 (London, 1858) p.380.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* p.381.

Early nineteenth century historicism, as I show later, in part results from an attempt to read political history and everyday life in terms of each other. D'Israeli tries to show that the minute details, what might be called mere gossip can often, in letters, or in memoirs, "reveal the individual" or "unriddle[...] a mysterious event". In the last pages of his essay D'Israeli gives the examples of Charles II and Queen Mary whose secret, as opposed to public, histories, he briefly compares. He concludes that "both these cases ... show the absolute necessity of researches into secret history, to correct the appearances and the fallacies which so often deceive us in public history".<sup>45</sup> History gives events an "appearance" which is not, here, used in the neutral sense of representation, but in the sense that it deliberately shows events in a certain guise, gives them a gloss. It can be fallacious and deceive, not in the earlier eighteenth-century sense implied by the preface of the first edition to Reresby, because it might be written from a distorted factional viewpoint, but because the very nature of its desire to provide a dignified, generalising surface, without taking account of original sources and the minute details they offer, makes it prone to distortion.

Running through the wide range of topics covered by D'Israeli in his miscellaneous writings on history, biography and literary history, was a concern for individual personality. Stylistically and often conceptually, his writing belongs to the eighteenth century, but it consistently challenges the earlier eighteenth century tendency to generalise both about human nature and human history. In a sense, the miscellaneous and desultory nature of his writing, which deliberately examines all kinds of particulars and never articulates a coherent theory, or approach, is itself both a challenge to this tendency to generalise and

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* p.392



the sign of a mind recognizing, but not quite coming to terms with, new ideas. That these ideas were new can be seen by the way they were developed into more confident and coherent formulations by the next generation and by the adverse criticism levelled at some of D'Israeli's excursions into the by-ways of literature and history. After the publication of *A Dissertation on Anecdotes* (1793), the critic in the *Gentleman's Magazine* accused D'Israeli of indulging in small-talk, gossip, scandal and improbability, "which a grave and sensible historian would be ashamed of using."<sup>46</sup> This kind of attack on trivial details parading as history was a common theme in conservative criticism up to and including the time when Pepys's *Diary* first appeared. To the critic in the *Gentleman's Magazine* the strictest adherence to impartiality and candour required for the writing of true "History" is "violated by the strict and curious research into the secrets of private biography." Biography "after all, is but a secondary or inferior kind of History" which obscures the important matter with irrelevant details and even gives importance "to many an insignificant fellow."<sup>47</sup> A very clear statement of an eighteenth-century view of the dignity of history is given in the following passage which serves as a marker for what it was that D'Israeli, and those who came after him and supported a new vision of the past in enfranchising 'trifling details', were arguing against:

A Thucydides, a Xenophen, a Livy, a Tacitus, a Clarendon, a Davila, a Mezari, a Thuanus would have despised such material for history, which are but like the smaller pieces of wood or stone which every hod-carrier contributes to the magnificent and beautiful structure, and which the modern compilers of the general history of nations ... rummages out of the musty parchments and private archives, and then fancy they are developing the characters of their heroes. This they call the philosophy of history but it is

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<sup>46</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIII, pt 2. December 1793, p.1120.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.* p.1121.

really the wire-drawing of history, and eking out of old established facts with silly stories, the fruits of temporary passion or sudden circumstances.<sup>48</sup>

History, he says should not be the mere antiquarian search for letters and other ephemera and it should be a judicious balancing of facts, perhaps occasionally authenticated by the evidence of anecdotes. As already noted, the reviewer of D'Israeli claims that biography is an inferior form of history and that modern biographers tend to overwhelm their heroes with petty facts. Towards the end of the review the writer suggests that these same observations can be applied to the much of the second volume of D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature* (1793). In its final form *Curiosities of Literature* contained 276 essays or articles on a wide diversity of topics, many, as his more famous son Benjamin later implied in a memoir of his father which prefaced the 1848 edition, considered *recherché* for their time. A sample of titles such as "Of Lord Bacon at Home", "James the First as Father and Husband", "Recovery of Manuscripts", "The History of Gloves" is indicative of D'Israeli's belief that nearly everything in history is relevant, or at least worthy of the historian's attention.

Of the hundreds of essays and articles written by D'Israeli, four deserve attention here because they demonstrate a number of congruent ideas of particular relevance to the growing interest in publishing diaries and memoirs. One important aspect of D'Israeli's writing which marks its transitional nature is that he fails to make the clear generic distinctions characteristic of the mid-eighteenth century. In an essay from *Miscellanies: Or Literary Recreations* (1796) called "Some Observations on Diaries, Self-Biography [the word autobiography was not yet standard usage] and Self-characters," D'Israeli makes some general observations about the value of

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid.* p.1120

writing that concentrates on individual lives in order to reveal the inner person. (It is significant in terms of later writing about diaries, memoirs, biographies and autobiographies that D'Israeli ranges across all forms of writing that concentrate on individual lives and personalities without making clear generic distinctions.)

With echoes of Johnson's *Rambler* essay on biography D'Israeli opens the essay by saying that the study of biography is a recent taste in Britain.

The art of writing lives has been but lately known; and it was, therefore, an usual complaint with the meagre biographers of the last century, when their subject was a man of letters, that his life could not be deemed very interesting, since he, who had only been illustrious in his closet, could not be supposed to afford any material for the historian. The life of a prime minister, or the memoirs of a general, as the contained the detail of political intrigues and political opposition; battles or stratagems; were considered to afford happier opportunities for a writer to display the ability of his literary powers.<sup>49</sup>

He goes on to argue that since a person's "physical situation ... influences his moral and metaphysical state", all people and their minds ("the great object of our inquiry") are potentially interesting and individual. "Every man, in whatever department he moves, has passions, which will vary even from those who are acting the same part as himself."<sup>50</sup> While there are marked similarities between D'Israeli and Johnson, the former moves a step closer both to prizing individuality for its own sake and to the inner workings of the individual mind.

He who studies his own mind, and has the industry to note down the fluctuations of his opinions, the fallacies of his passions, and the vacillations of his resolutions, will form a journal to himself

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<sup>49</sup> Isaac D'Israeli, *Miscellanies, or Literary Recreations* (1796) (Garland Publishers, N.Y., 1970) p.95.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* pp.96-97



peculiarly interesting, and probably, not undeserving the meditations of others. Nothing which presents a faithful relation of humanity, is inconsiderable to a human being.<sup>51</sup>

In practice, D'Israeli was only interested in people of reputation, but he nevertheless challenges the idea that a subject's public importance and sphere of action is the only index to an interesting inner life. Furthermore, D'Israeli's comments evince a greater interest in the subject's historical circumstances.

Nevertheless, D'Israeli still believed in a selectivity of details. More specifically discussing diaries, he says that it was once a custom to journalise one's own life and that many diaries remain in their MS. state, "and some, unfortunately for journal-writing, have been published."<sup>52</sup> He then singles out the diary of Elias Ashmole as an example of a diary that registers too many unimportant circumstances. "To give the importance of history to the progress of a purge, and to return divine thanks for the cutting of a corn ... is giving importance to objects which should only be observable in the history of another animal, but man". A good journal writer should only write what is "proportionate to the powers of vision". In the essay "Diaries - Moral, Historical, and Critical" from *Curiosities of Literature* D'Israeli had come to a similar conclusion. When noting that it might be "curious to the philosophical observer" to perform as an experiment what a German had done in 1629 in writing "whatever he read or had seen every day in that year" he says: "But to write down everything, may end in something like nothing." These comments suggest some agreement with the reviewer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* about which personal details are important to the larger view of history. Later in

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid.* pp.97-98

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.* p.98.

the next century, it was precisely these details which gave Pepys's *Diary* its piquancy.

The body of this last essay, however, evinces a strong sense of the necessity to understand the personalities of the past and their private lives. D'Israeli's chief interest is in people of reputation: "I intend drawing up a list of ... diaries and memoirs, which derive their importance from diarists themselves." The value of such diaries and memoirs (which includes what we would call autobiography such as Clarendon's *History*) D'Israeli sums up with a comment from Bishop Gibson on Camden's diary: "Were this practised by persons of learning and curiosity, who have opportunities of seeing into the public affairs of a kingdom, the short hints and strictures of this kind would often set things in a truer light than regular histories."<sup>53</sup>

D'Israeli's concern with aspects of personality can be set in a larger framework, which makes sense of the increasing interest in diaries and memoirs as historical source material and throws some light on some of the details of the later reception of Pepys's *Diary*. D'Israeli's biographer, James Ogden, notes that his writing is concerned with "the new sense developed in the second half of the eighteenth century to accommodate a new interest: the proper study of mankind pursued not by considering 'Man' in general, but by scrutinizing the lives of great individuals. The lives, letters, memoirs, and confessions of distinguished men and women were therefore much in demand, but often they circulated in manuscript for years before being published."<sup>54</sup> What lies behind D'Israeli's interest in personal writing is a sense that public actions are not in and of themselves comprehensible without recourse to the inner life that motivates them.

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid* p.99.

<sup>54</sup> James Ogden *Isaac D'Israeli* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969) p.51.

What is striking about D'Israeli's writing when considered in the light of the following generation of writers who were concerned to challenge accepted historiographical methods, is that precisely because his essays desultorily discussed a wide range of topics, never coming to a clear or coherent articulation of a theory of history, he can be seen in the process of recognizing a gap between the way people acted or presented themselves in the public sphere and their 'true' natures. In the "Advertisement" to *An Inquiry into the Literary and Political Character of James the First* he said: "Many years ago I set off in the world with the popular notions of the character of James I; but in the course of study, and with a more enlarged comprehension of the age, I was frequently struck by the contrast of his *real* with his *apparent* character; and I thought I had developed those hidden and involved causes which have so long influenced modern writers in ridiculing and vilifying this monarch."<sup>55</sup> (Emphasis added.) D'Israeli consistently articulated the tension between the dignity of history and the kinds of conclusions more minute researches led to. It was a tension which still existed around the time of the publication of Pepys's *Diary*.

Some of D'Israeli's observations can be applied in understanding the prefaces to the two editions of Reresby's *Memoirs*. Remembering that apart from the addition of the "Travels" to the later edition, the 1734 and 1813 editions are the same text, we can see that each presents the text to the reader differently. This begins with differences in the full titles. The title for the 1734 edition reads: *The Memoirs of the Honourable John Reresby, Baronet, and last Governor of York, containing several Private and Remarkable Transactions from the Restoration to the Revolution Inclusively*. Compare this with the 1813 edition: *The Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby, Bart, the*

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<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Ogden p.87.



former containing *Anecdotes and Secret History of the Courts of Charles II and James II*; the latter (now first published) exhibiting a *View of the Governments and Society in the Principal States and Courts of Europe during the Time of Cromwell's Usurpation*. The publication now fits the category of secret history. The memoirs themselves do not tell the reader anything different from the first edition, but they can be read differently. Many reviewers of Pepys's *Diary* twelve years later located its meaning in the way it exposed the profligacy, and even venality, of the court of Charles II. Its ability to "expose" gave it the function of a secret history, though as I suggested, by this time the term had almost fallen out of use. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, indicating that Pepys's *Diary* was no longer a secret history in the sense just outlined, Osmond Airy says of it that its importance "historically speaking, may be summed up by saying that without it the history of the court of Charles II could not have been written", and that from it, "we can understand the brilliancy and wickedness of the court, as well as the social state and daily life of the bourgeois class".<sup>56</sup> No longer perceived to be irrelevant to mainstream history, nor even a mere supplement to history, Pepys's *Diary* has become a form of history itself, and indispensable to an understanding of Charles II's court.

So the "species of knowledge" represented by diaries and memoirs, the minute details of private and daily life, began on the margins as irrelevant to history, gained the power, if not to subvert, at least to deflate the pretensions of mainstream history and became an intrinsic part of history. But around the early part of the nineteenth century editors, reviewers and presumably average readers, were attempting to find ways

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<sup>56</sup> Osmond Airy, *Encyclopedia Britannica* Ninth Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1884. p.521. Osmond Airy himself later published a biography of Charles II.

of reading the minute and sometimes trifling details. Despite the popularity of Pepys's *Diary* and these attempts to mediate it for readers, not all comments were favourable, some showing the kind of reluctance to accept the trifling details D'Israeli found in popular historians of his own time and the earlier eighteenth century. The content of these adverse comments are worth noting because they reinforce the idea that favourable reviewers were writing against still-prevailing attitudes, some of which were soon to disappear, and which give their writing a persuasive edge. As I have already suggested, giving historical meaning to the 'trifling details' became one of the main points of focus of this persuasive edge. And, of course, this also means that disagreements over the value of the text were also disagreements as to the value of the trifling details. This is not, however, to say that there were only two types of opinion. Opinions which fell into one of these categories could be quite differently inflected according to beliefs about the dignity of history, personal dignity (in terms, for example, of what should or should not be revealed publicly), the place of particulars as against general facts in history and even ontological considerations - what kind of primacy one gives to the truth of the inner, private person as against the public persona.

Indicating his awareness of differing opinions and also that the *Diary* was popular, the latest thing in his circle, Sydney Smith remarked in a letter to Lady Holland: "I have been reading Pepys, not without some indignation at being obliged to read such nonsense merely because yourself and Allen and other persons have read it, and I must not fall

<sup>57</sup> Noel C. Smith (Ed.), *Letters of Sydney Smith*, Vol. 1, Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 49.  
<sup>58</sup> *Contemporary Magazine* Sept. 1823 p. 231.

behind".<sup>57</sup> The reviewer for the *Gentleman's Magazine* seems to have been of a mind with Braybrooke as to the necessity for abridgment:

If the value of these ponderous tomes bore but a slight proportion to their bulk, it might be fairly predicted of them that they form one of the most important publications of the century. But although we are free to confess that their Noble Editor has done the world some service by rescuing the matter of these volumes from the obscurity in which it has lain so long, yet we are not disposed to estimate this service so highly as do many of our contemporaries. Of their historical importance we think little, for they refer to a period too recent for obscurity, and too well explored for much further elucidation.<sup>58</sup>

The reviewer is aware that among the existing range of opinion, his lies on the most conservative boundary. The dismissal of the text's historical value - not as unqualified in the remainder of the review as this statement might lead us to believe - belongs only to this period. No similar opinion was voiced against it again. It can be noticed in passing that this reviewer also draws attention to the impressive physical dimensions of the two volumes, which are in inverse proportion to their value. Less tolerant than the *Literary Gazette*, the *Gentleman's Magazine* similarly hints that what has actually been printed, is about as much as a reader might take. This seems to be linked to the review's opinion of the trifling details. Although the article does not give serious weight to the historical value of the *Diary*, this does not mean it finds it lacking in worth altogether. After the above quotation, the reviewer says:

...it is pleasant as a curiosity to read the personal narratives of men who lived in times and scenes familiar to us in history; and it is amusing to observe how sensibly they were influenced by events which at a distance appear to us trivial or disproportionate to the

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<sup>57</sup> Noel C. Smith (Ed.), *Letters of Sydney Smith*, Vol 1, (Oxford University Press, 1956) p.499

<sup>58</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* Sept. 1825 p.233.



effect produced ... The gossiping spirit which so thoroughly possessed [Pepys], induced him to put down many particulars which a stronger mind had rejected as trifling; and from these straws, thrown up at random, it is that we collect many entertaining pictures of his times<sup>59</sup>

What is most interesting about this review is that it is closer to the eighteenth-century view which separates history and biography (or other forms of writing about individual lives) than to nineteenth-century historicism, while still demonstrating symptoms of the latter. "History" in this quotation is represented by and written from the "effect produced". It recounts the large results, separated out from the transient details. Furthermore, the kind of information offered by diaries such as that of Pepys is something of a decoration, plumping out what real history has already told us. It does not, however, provide information that is intrinsic to history. History comprehends those things which, surveyed at a distance, rather than from the more chaotic present, can tell us about significant cause and effect.

In quite different ways, a number of early reviews of Pepys's *Diary* express masked, or even defensive, embarrassment at what the text reveals of the writer. In some cases this contains a voyeuristic pleasure expressed by mild censure of Pepys for confessing so much, while simultaneously showing real pleasure in the fact that he has done so. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* one can see associated opinions which focus on the criticism of Pepys quoted above and amount to a patrician attitude to both historical dignity and personal dignity: first, the majesterial view of history which repudiates trifling details; secondly, Pepys was a *gossip* and

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<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* p.233

therefore, to his shame and discredit (as a gentleman?) by retailing so many trifling facts, showed himself to be.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* and Sydney Smith were not alone in their adverse opinions. Again, despite its popularity, responses to the first edition suggest that publication of the whole text might have tried the patience of readers in 1825. Of course, this kind of judgment relies on speculation since there is no really hard evidence, but reading between the lines suggests that Braybrooke's treatment of the text, while conservative by some standards, was not merely a personal quirk. His treatment of the text fell within the boundaries of current thinking and it is quite plausible that another editor of the time might have severely abridged the text according to a similar rationale. It is to be remembered that the *Memoirs of Reresby* and the *Diary of Evelyn* also suffered mutilation, both published in "abbreviated and inaccurate form"<sup>60</sup>. There are limits as to how far we can interpret the reception of the first edition with certainty. Since reviewers were responding to Pepys's *Diary* as it appeared in the distinctive shape Lord Braybrooke gave it, with almost no idea of the extent of abridgement, nor anything but the vaguest idea of the length of the MS. -Braybrooke's preface says the original comprehended "six volumes, closely written in shorthand" - nor, moreover, any guide as to how the selected passages tended to foreground some features of the text at the expense of others, it may be objected that it is impossible to get a true measure of readers' responses to the work. So when the reviewer for the *British Critic* says that Braybrooke has done a "splendid job"<sup>61</sup> and like Walter Scott in the *Quarterly Review*, Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review* and a number of other critics, responded positively to the

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<sup>60</sup>Browning, p.v

<sup>61</sup> *British Critic*.. January, 1826. p.400.

perceived fulness and range of information Pepys offered, he is judging from a position of almost complete ignorance.

Everything reviewers say, then, is a response to an already mediated text. At the same time, Braybrooke's mediation of the text was not performed in isolation from the same matrix of cultural forces influencing his readers. The question of agreement between Braybrooke and the reviewers can be approached from another angle: were the aspects of the text that caught the attention of readers the same as those that Braybrooke had chosen to highlight?

The reviewer for the *Eclectic Review* gives valuable hints as to what trifling details might be. Near the beginning of the review he says:

The pains which Lord Braybrooke has taken in editing the Journal, are manifest from the footnotes, and we are certainly not inclined to complain, on the whole, on the manner in which he has discharged his task; but waiving the insipid and wearisome notices relating to the theatrical performances, we cannot conceive that either the manners or the habits of the age are illustrated by such memoranda as the following ...<sup>62</sup>

Following this the review quotes a handful of passages. Two of these passages, and the full length passages from which they come, are worth quoting here both as a demonstration of Braybrooke's editorial rationale and to test the degree of consensus between the editor and his readers. The two passages quoted here cited by the reviewer have the added interest of falling on consecutive days, 27 and 28 February, 1661. In the second of these passages the reviewer only objected to the first sentence, giving us a clear idea of what he considered to be a trivial detail: "Notwithstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can". One feature of

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<sup>62</sup>*Eclectic Review*, July, 1825. p.76



Braybrooke's editing shown by these consecutive passages is the way narrative continuity is maintained by pursuing a single concern through a number of entries, whittling away almost everything else. By contrast, the full passages have a density and richness, and for the abridger, offer any number of narrative threads. We are therefore led to wonder what interested Braybrooke in the narrative loops he chose in preference to others. Moreover, why the need to create more sharply defined continuities? True, the decision to make an abridgment is bound to enforce choices like this, but when compared with Robert Latham's *Shorter Pepys*, which retains something of the original's feeling of multifariousness, Braybrooke's first edition appears to be shaped with at least a loose sense of forward-moving narrative in mind. I am not suggesting that one is more or less of a 'distortion' of the text than another, simply that each might relate to contemporary predispositions. Robert Latham's selection occurs at a time when we appreciate the non-linear, disunified selfhood of post-modernist consciousness. Braybrooke made his selection at the height of the popularity of Scott's historical novels. These are somewhat throwaway suggestions, but they bring me back to the notion that such texts are performances related to their times.

Because Braybrooke chose to cut the text to a quarter of its original size, sometimes subjects left out of one passage automatically forced the exclusion of the same subject in a future passage simply because the reference no longer made sense. In Braybrooke's first edition the passages referred to read as follows. (The passages rejected by the reviewer appear in bold print):

27th [Feb., 1661]. I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no.

28.[Feb., 1661] **Notwithstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can.** This month ends with two great secrets under dispute but yet known to very few: first, Who the King will marry; and What the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward. Most think against Argier against the Turke, or to the East Indys against the Dutch who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

This is a good place to stop and take a closer look at Braybrooke's editing and to try to understand the reviewer's response in context. In the first case the passage rejected by the reviewer comprehends the whole entry for the given date, as do most of the passages he selects. In the second case, he has chosen from what is still a relatively short passage, the only sentence which is entirely personal to the writer. But look at the complete passage from which Braybrooke has selected his entries and one is struck with the ruthlessness and even a certain arbitrariness in his selection. (The parts of the passage selected by Braybrooke appear in bold print):

27. At the office all morning. That done, I walked in the garden with little Captain Murford, where he and I have some discourse concerning the Lighthouse again; and I think I shall appear in the business, he promising me that if I can bring it about, it will be worth 100l per annum.

Then came into the garden to me young Mr. Powell and Mr. Hooke, that I once knew at Cambridge, and I took them in and gave them a bottle of wine and so parted. **Then I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner - this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no.** My father dined with me - and did show me a letter from my brother John, wherein he tells us that he is chosen Schollar of the house, which doth please me much, because I perceive now it must chiefly come from his merit and not the power of his tutor Dr: Widdrington, who is now quite out of interest there and hath put over his pupils to Mr. Pepper, a young Fellow of the College.

With my father to Mr. Rawlinson's, where we met with my Uncle Wight - and after a pint or two, away. I walked with my father (who gave me an account of the great falling-out between my

Uncle Fenner and his son Will.) as far as Paul's churchyard, and so left him. And I home.

This day the Comissioners of Parliament begin to pay off the Fleet, beginning with the *Hampshire* - and do it at Guildhall for fear of going out of the town into the power of the seamen, who are highly incensed against them.

28. earely to wait on my Lord. And after a little talk with him I took boat at White-hall for Redriffe; but in my way overtook Captain Cuttance and Teddiman in a boat; and so I ashore with them at Queenehithe and so to a tavern with them to a barrel of oysters, and so away.

Captain Cuttance and I walked from Redriffe to Deptford, where I find both Sir Wms. and Sir George Cartrite at Mr. Uthwaytes and there we dined. And **not withstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent; but am resolved to eat as little as I can.**

After dinner we went to Captain Bodilaws and there made sale of many old stoares by the candle; and good sport it was to see how, from a small matter bid at first, they would come to double and treble the price of things.

After that, Sir Wm. Pen and I and my Lady Batten and her daughter by land to Redriffe, staying a little at Halfway-house. And when we came to take boat, find Sir George, &c, to have stayed with the barge a great while for us, which troubled us.

Home and to bed.

**This month ends with two great Secrets under dispute, but yet known to very few. First, who the King will marry. And what the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the Southward. Most think against Argier against the Turke, or to the East Indys against the Dutch - who we hear are setting out a great fleet thither.**

The Braybrooke excerpts can be placed into two contexts. Most obviously, they can be placed in the context of the full passages just quoted which clearly indicate that he could have extracted any number of aspects of Pepys's day to print and we are left wondering why he chose as he did. But we can also contextualise them in terms of readers in 1825, that is, first, relative to the overall intellectual climate - are these significant historical details? - and secondly, relative to the other passages in the publication - are these passages as noteworthy as others and are they



consistent with Braybrooke's process of selection? The answers to these questions, for as far as they can be given, are mixed. The reviewer himself has chosen at random, and if one glances through Braybrooke's first edition it can be assumed that had the reviewer himself been the editor, working on the basis of the passages he quotes as worthless, he would have excised perhaps hundreds more. A typical page of Braybrooke's first edition tends to sandwich brief notices like those quoted above, between much longer selections. But this raises several other considerations which help to clarify both the reviewer's response (and that of other reviews) as well as giving some focus on the actual shape of Braybrooke's edition.

As I mentioned above, most passages cited by the reviewer as uninteresting in terms of illustrating manners and customs are those in which a sentence or two represent a whole day. From among the hundreds of such 'entries', those the reviewer has chosen to mention concern Pepys's personal life, but there are probably more entries of this kind which deal with what could be termed public matters. Two picked at random read thus:

3rd. [April, 1664] Called up by W. Joyce, he being summonsed in the House of Lords tomorrow, for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters for a debt.

24th [Jan., 1665] The dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the war.

This kind of information the reviewer would undoubtedly retain as historical. But suppose those same sentences referring to Pepys's private life were buried in one of Braybrooke's longer passages. Or, put it the other way round: if the longer passages from Braybrooke's first edition are inspected, could one not find any number of sentences, which, if isolated

as a day's entry, the reviewer for the *Eclectic Review* might find equally uninteresting? The rejected sentence for the 28 February, 1661, is isolated from material which is obviously 'historical', but this, too, is a relatively short passage overall. Attention is drawn to the passages the reviewer rejects by the process of editing, even though he appears to be rejecting them on the basis of their intrinsic value. In part this is the result of their appearance on the page. Their brevity attracts attention. From this we might predict that there would be a difference in the evaluation of trifling details if the reviewer were to edit the manuscript of Pepys's *Diary* as opposed to re-editing Braybrooke's edition, as he had it in front of him. Yet it also has to be said that, by and large, the longer passages in Braybrooke's first edition do only deal with matters of public history. In fact, the longest passages, which emerge as the 'serious' matter of his text, cut out much of the personal, private or domestic material. So there is a definite bias in the first edition towards isolating little squibs of personal detail in short entries and giving prominence to public affairs in the longer passages. Again, the reviewer's assessment of the text is made from ignorance of its status relative to the manuscript. For all the ambiguity this introduces in understanding the response to the first edition, one thing is clear: this reviewer had no qualms about the need both to abridge and condense. Perhaps, in the end, the really telling factor about the amount of minute detail in the text is that on the whole, reviewers found the publication almost too long. The review concludes by suggesting that "although ... the Noble Editor would have laid the public under still greater obligations had he used his discretion with somewhat less reserve in curtailing and condensing the contents of this Diary, we have derived

too much amusement from its multifarious contents to quarrel even with the bulk of these unwieldy tomes".<sup>63</sup>

Although it was not until the appearance of Bright's and Wheatley's editions of the *Diary* that commentators regularly expressed the notion that Pepys had written everything that he did, thought and felt, reviewers of the first edition seem to have responded to a similar impression. "Few men appear to have walked the world with such widely gaping ears as Pepys," said the *British Critic* ; "fewer still have thought it worthwhile to record both the great and little news which flowed into them with such indiscriminating impartiality."<sup>64</sup> In representing what could safely be called the liberal middle ground, Francis Jeffrey demonstrates an ambivalence that one would not find in the later reviews of the 1848 edition. Jeffrey appreciated the historical value of the *Diary* and as chapter four shows, he had been calling for history to include the social life of the past for years. Nevertheless, as the following quotation from his review of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* shows, that he retains an idea of what might constitute trifling details. And overall, his review contains a sense of what is personally dignified:

There is trash enough no doubt in his journal,- trifling facts, and silly observations. But we can scarcely say that we wish it a page shorter ... Reading this book seems to us to be quite as good as living with Mr. Pepys in his proper person ... The book is rather too dear and magnificent. But the editor's task we think excellently performed. The *ample* text is not incumbered with ostentatious commentaries - but very brief and useful notices are supplied of almost all the individuals who are mentioned; and an admirable and very minute Index is subjoined, which methodises the *immense miscellany* - and places the *vast chaos* at our disposal. [Emphasis mine.]<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *British Critic* p.400.

<sup>65</sup> Francis Jeffrey, "Pepys's Memoirs", *Edinburgh Review* , Vol. 43, November, 1825. p.54.



Several points made by other reviewers come together in this passage. On the evidence before him, Jeffrey approves of Braybrooke's editing, and since what is published - an ample text, an immense miscellany, a vast chaos - contains "trifling facts and silly observations" we can safely assume that if Jeffrey does not want the publication a page shorter, he also does not wish it to be too much longer. What would his response have been to the publication of the whole text?

As I suggested earlier from the time of the third edition in 1848, reviewers used Walter Scott's 1826 review as an appeal against any form of abridgment, except for what was indecent. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (1849) used Scott to attack Braybrooke. Several reviewers of Bright's and Wheatley's editions of the *Diary* also quoted Scott to support their argument that Braybrooke had misjudged his readers by not printing the whole text. As I have said before, by the end of the century, Pepys's *Diary* had begun to acquire its own publishing history and it had become part of that history to suggest that Braybrooke did not recognise the value of the text. In the opening paragraph of its review of the first volume of Wheatley's edition (1893), the *Athenaeum* says:

Sir Walter Scott's miscellaneous writings are, perhaps, not so commonly read now as they ought to be, and it is, therefore, not out of place to refer explicitly to his remarks on this subject in a review of the first edition in the *Quarterly Review* of March, 1826. He said:-

"The idea of a work being imperfect, from whatever cause, the restless suspicion that something has been kept back, which would have rendered the whole more piquant, though perhaps less instructive, will always, in spite of us, haunt the curious indagator after the minute curiosities of literature:-

That cruel something unpossessed

Corrodes and leavens all the rest.

Where contemporary documents are published for the use of the antiquary or historian, we think the editor will, generally speaking, best attain his purpose by giving a literal transcript of the papers in his hands.....Even when decency or delicacy may appear on the one hand to demand omissions, it comes to be, on the other, a matter of

very serious consideration in how far such demands can be complied with without actual injustice to the characters handled by the author, the self-supplied key to whose own character and dispositions is thus mutilated and impaired.<sup>66</sup>

Taken from its context in this way the passage quoted from Scott appears to be a clear appeal for the whole of the text and, of course, it was nearly the whole text that Wheatley published. But the meaning of the quotation from Scott is less clear when placed in context. To begin with, Scott had no idea how much had been cut from the *Diary*. In the original review, the preceding passage is followed by this:

Lord Braybrooke informs us, that as Mr. Pepys was 'in the habit of recording the most trifling actions [sic] of his life, it became absolutely necessary to curtail the MS. materially, and in many cases [sic] to condense the matter, but the greatest care has been taken to preserve the original meaning.' It would be unreasonable to find fault with this freedom, nor are we disposed to suspect that it has, in any respect, been misused. On the contrary, judging from the peculiar character of Pepys, so uniformly sustained throughout the whole diary, we feel perfect conviction that the pruning knife has been exercised with that utmost caution necessary for preserving the shape and appearance of the tree in its original state. It may, besides, be accounted very superfluous to wish for a larger share of Mr. Pepys's private thoughts and confidences, than are to be found in that space of some five or six hundred pages of royal quarto.<sup>67</sup>

No doubt, Scott exercised tact here. The *Gentleman's Magazine* said of this review that it was written in his "accustomed bland and courteous manner".<sup>68</sup> It is impossible accurately to gauge what Scott would have thought of the publication of the whole and it has to be stressed that he is responding to an already shaped text. Like those of other reviewers of the

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<sup>66</sup> *Athenaeum*, No.3418, 29 April, 1893. p.529.

<sup>67</sup> Walter Scott "Pepys's Memoirs" *Quarterly Review*

<sup>68</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol 31, Jan to June 1849. p.161.

first edition, his comments suggest that he thought the bulk of the text had been published and that the resulting publication was itself long enough. His judgement of the first edition was based on a belief that Braybrooke had fulfilled his stated aim of retaining the original meaning. With so little information about the text there was no other choice. It is therefore hard to know whether he concurred with Braybrooke over the omission of many of Pepys's "private thoughts and confidences" or was politely accepting a necessary compromise for an already lengthy publication, which nevertheless includes the really important matter.

To some extent Scott implies a distinction between a publication designed for the general reader and one that will satisfy the antiquary. Between the passage quoted above, accepting Braybrooke's editorial rationale and the one quoted in the article in the *Athenaeum* expressing unease at not having a literal transcript, Scott asks, "But when will antiquarian eyes be entirely satisfied with seeing?" In *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, John Lockhart says that Scott left Edinburgh for Ireland in July 1825, taking the recently published *Diary* with him. Lockhart comments that "it was, I believe, the only one he took with him ... and never saw him more delighted with any book whatsoever. He had afterwards many of its queer turns and phrases on his lips."<sup>69</sup> Scott's journal mentions that he received the very large sum of £100 for the review, which he thought twice as much as it was worth.<sup>70</sup> Isaac D'Israeli is reported to have been favourable impressed by Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary*<sup>71</sup> On 22 December, 1825, five days before he noted beginning the review of Pepys's

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<sup>69</sup>John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Vol. VIII (Edinburgh, 1902) p.99

<sup>70</sup>W.E.K. Anderson (Ed.) *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972) p.132

<sup>71</sup>James Ogden, p.122.



*Diary*, the following entry referring to his own writing occurs in his journal:

Better a superficial book which brings well and strikingly together the known and acknowledged facts than a dull boring narrative pausing to see further into a mill stone at every moment than the nature of the Mill stone admits. Nothing is so tiresome as walking through some beautiful scene with a minute philosopher, a botanist or pebble gatherer who is eternally calling your attention from the grand features of the natural scenery to look at grasses and chunky stones. Yet in their way they give useful information and so does the minute historian.<sup>72</sup>

For Scott, like Macaulay, the minute details form an essential source for the greater work of the imagination which gives meaning to them by rendering them in a larger picture. Exclusive concentration on details obscures the overall effect. It is therefore with reference to his own talents for writing history that Scott noted in his journal for 28 December 1827, "If I have a knack for anything it is for selecting the striking and interesting points out of dull details."<sup>73</sup> But in order to perform the imaginative task of making sense of the dull details, Scott must subject himself to hours of reading. He goes on to say, "I myself receive so much pleasure and instruction from volumes which are generally reputed dull and uninteresting. Give me facts I will find fancy for myself." The implication seems to be that the transforming imagination is already engaged during the process of reading what may appear to be dull and uninteresting. Antiquarian interest in minute details for themselves can also be a consoling escape. This same idea occurs again in chapter four with regard to Macaulay who makes similar claims for his own imagination in terms

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<sup>72</sup>W.E.K. Anderson (Ed.) p. 45

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.* p.405

directly related to his reading of Pepys's *Diary*. For 9 March, 1828 Scott notes:

I do not know anything which relieves the mind so much from the sullenness as trifling discussions about *antiquarian old-womanries* - It is like knitting a stocking, diverting the mind without occupying it, or it is like, by our lady, a mill dam which leads the attention gently and imperceptibly out of the channell in which they are chafing and boiling - to be sure it is only conducting them to turn a child's mill - What signifies that? - The diversion is a relief though the object is of little importance.<sup>74</sup>

While the imaginative writer in him criticises antiquarianism for its own sake, he is nevertheless subject to its escapist appeals. The terminology is important, too. In the review from the *New Monthly Magazine* quoted earlier, the writer makes a distinction between what might be of antiquarian, or scholarly, interest, and what might be of interest to the general public. Another symptom of the acceptance of the "trifling details" by mid-century, is that just as the term "secret history" had fallen out of use, the term "antiquarian" as it might be applied to an interest in Pepys's *Diary*, had also fallen out of use. Yet for Scott, like the reviewer in the *New Monthly*, there remains a tension between what might be of antiquarian interest and what might be of general interest.

It is often the antiquarian side of his own personality which emerges in the review of Pepys's *Diary*. In assenting to Braybrooke's treatment of the text Scott speaks in the first person (plural), but the expression of dissatisfaction with anything but a literal transcript is imputed to the antiquary and historian, both removed to the third person. Scott's recognition of his own enjoyment of the antiquarian's pursuit carries with it the guilty sense of its being a private addiction and

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<sup>74</sup> *ibid.* p.441.

indulgence, one to be criticised in those who do not have the imaginative capacity to go beyond an undifferentiated mass of details. Furthermore, Scott's "antiquarian" interest in the minute details seems to be at war with his belief in generalising. This kind of conflict of categories sounds as if it comes from the eighteenth century. But what does it mean in terms of Pepys's *Diary*? Given the cognitive framework within which Scott judges, given that he thinks the publication is already long enough, given, too, that he seems to make a distinction between the requirements of the antiquary and that of the general reader, would he really have wanted the whole text to be published?

But this is balanced by an obvious satisfaction with the *Diary* in the shape in which it appeared. Apart from scattered biographical material indicating Scott's somewhat sentimental fondness for Pepys's *Diary* the review demonstrates a positive and keen response to the publication. Towards the end of his review Scott expatiates on the variety of information to be found in the *Diary* and notes its attractions for specialists in several fields: gastronomes, musicians, those interested in dress, drama and superstitions. If to later generations Braybrooke's first edition was a mere taste of Pepys's text, for Scott it was full of details as it stood: "If quitting the broad path of history we seek for minute information concerning ancient manners and customs, the progress of arts and sciences, and various branches of antiquity, we have never seen a mine so rich as the volumes before us."<sup>75</sup> Scott's review was favourably cited and quoted many times in other writing about Pepys throughout the nineteenth century, even if, as already mentioned, some of his comments were taken to be a more unequivocal call for the publication of the whole text than the context allows.

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<sup>75</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol.33, 1826. pp. 308-309.



Furthermore, he was clearly not in favour of publishing old memoirs simply because they existed. On 9 July, 1826, six months after the publication of Pepys, Scott expressed a hope that the elections for the Ballantyne Club would see a "true and liberal point of view" prevail such that the club would become "a great national institution which may do much good in the way of publishing our old records providing we do not fall into the usual habit of antiquaries and neglect what is useful for things that are merely curious."<sup>76</sup> The question arises, of course, as to whether once having decided a record is of sufficient usefulness, it should automatically be published in full, or whether selection on the basis of usefulness carries over into editing. Given the range of his opinions outlined in this discussion, it seems reasonable to assume that, unlike Edmund Gosse eighty years later, who believed the essential Pepys to be the *whole* Pepys, not a word excised, Scott did not object in principle to the abridgement of such works on the basis of interest and length. Scott's comments are symptomatic of a tension existing at the time between an antiquarian interest in the past which could yield new information and give a genuine 'picture' of past life, but which could also be an escape for the romantic imagination, and a view of antiquarianism as indulging in irrelevant details. For the reviewer of D'Israeli in the *Gentleman's Magazine* it was all trivial and could elevate unimportant people to apparent importance. But then in a sense, that was the point, if the everyday life of the people was to be enfranchised by history.

Reviews of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*, while enthusiastic overall, show a number of ambivalent attitudes. Universally the publication was seen as too grand and expensive; for many it was just about the right length, bordering on being too long; its historical value had

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<sup>76</sup>W.E.K. Anderson (Ed.) p.170.

to be argued, not in terms of the public history it contained, but in terms of the 'trivial details'. Francis Jeffrey, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sydney Smith, the *Eclectic Review* all expressed a notion of what was trite and even below a reader's dignity to read. Both Felicity Nussbaum and Élisabeth Bourcier remark that the history of diary and journal writing falls into two distinct phases of development.<sup>77</sup> The first phase is represented by a sudden proliferation of diary-writing (or serial autobiography) in the seventeenth century and the second, by the proliferation of published diaries in the first decades of the nineteenth century. I have already suggested that *as a publication* Pepys's *Diary* can be regarded as a nineteenth-century, rather than a seventeenth-century text. This gains support if we consider it within the larger picture I have been referring to here, because it was within early nineteenth-century debates about the nature of history, about the role of everyday life that readings of it were shaped. If we consider the text in terms of the sum of its interpretations, then Pepys's *Diary* as we know it in published form, was first constituted, not just by Braybrooke, but by those readers and reviewers who tried to find a meaning for the "trifling details".

But these details are only one symptom of the shift in views of the past which affected the publication of Pepys's *Diary*. I have already outlined an association between Macaulay's views of history and developing understandings of Pepys's *Diary*. But for Macaulay, the trifling details readers had begun to appreciate in Pepys's *Diary* were at the service of a much larger enterprise. At the end of the century, with the publication of Wheatley's edition of Pepys's *Diary*, the *Quarterly Review* commented that although Lord Braybrooke had been a "painstaking and enthusiastic" editor, he had "underrated the charm of those minute details

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<sup>77</sup>See Bourcier p.1 and Nussbaum p.24.

which add so much to the effect, completeness, and reality of the picture".<sup>78</sup> This comment is interesting when it is placed in context. For readers of Braybrooke's third edition in the middle of the century, the editor had failed to appreciate the historical value of the trifling details. At the end of the century however, it was not so much for their historical importance that they mattered, but for what they revealed of the writer. So after the sentence just quoted, the reviewer goes on to say that reading the pages of a "secret diary" puts the reader on intimate terms with the writer, and the "essence of intimacy is the cognizance of trifling occurrences". This is representative of the changed attitude to Pepys's *Diary* in the late part of the century, when its centre of interest had become the personal life of the diarist. Over the seventy years since its first publication, the trifling details had at first met with a mixed response. Then in the mid-century they had become the essence of text's historical value. By the end of the century, in accordance with the times, the text had become to some extent de-historicised and valued for its intense privacy and the fulness of its self-revelation, of which the trifling details were an index.

The real measure of change with regard to the trifling details are the reviews of Braybrooke's third edition in 1848 by which time the historical importance of trifling details were not only accepted, but insisted upon. As I indicated in a different context in the last chapter, the *Atheneum*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Dublin University Magazine* all agreed that the new material, predominantly dealing with Pepys's private and domestic life, *increased* the text's historical value. Braybrooke called criticism upon himself with a statement in the preface to the new edition suggesting the new material to

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<sup>78</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol.183, no.365. 1896. p.4.



be of little historical value, showing that he had not kept pace with contemporary attitudes. It is a somewhat reckless, or at least bluffing, statement, in the light of contemporary attitudes, and did not fail to get the backs up of most reviewers. In the preface, quoted in the last chapter, Braybrooke indicates that he thought the details historically unimportant. In other words, he retained an idea of history which was, on the whole, public history. This is reflected in the material included in his first edition. Like the responses of his nephew to John Smith's letters to the *Illustrated London News* discussed in the last chapter, Braybrooke's preface smacks of aristocratic defensiveness, to which some of the papers reacted angrily. He says: "Nor would it, indeed, be reasonable to anticipate such a result [that is, finding the new material as historically valuable as that found in the first edition] unless the editorial duties had in the first instance been performed in a most careless manner".<sup>79</sup> This is a curious statement. As I will show, reception of the first edition suggests that Braybrooke's opinions as to what constituted the text's historical value was not as discordant with his readers as later commentators suggest. But opinions had changed in the intervening twenty-three years. What I suspect made it appear to later commentators that Braybrooke had got it wrong from the start - and his own statement shows his awareness of this opinion - is that Pepys's *Diary* was published just on the cusp of changing ideas about the nature of history. A key piece of writing in this change was Macaulay's so-called "History" essay of 1828, which I discuss in some detail in the fourth chapter. This essay, I want to claim, articulates what was taken at the time to be a fresh theory of history in terms which also provide readers with a way of making a text like Pepys's *Diary* intelligible historically. The essay appeared only three years after the first publication of Pepys's *Diary*

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<sup>79</sup> B1, p.vii

and, importantly, in the same year as the second edition. It is quite probable that it was at this time, with the assistance of Macaulay's theorising, that readers of Pepys's *Diary* began to drop some of the misgivings shown in the reviews of the first edition.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* which had rejected the historical value of the first edition, had completely changed its tune by 1848. The first two pages of its review of the new edition are devoted to a discussion of Braybrooke's excisions. Interestingly, the review imports a passage from Walter Scott's review of the first edition - as did other reviewers later in the century - as support for their opinion that the whole text should be published. But, as I suggest below, Scott's comments are to some extent taken out of context. The terms in which Braybrooke's statement from the preface to the third edition are couched invite the opposite response they received. The *Gentleman's Magazine* concluded therefore Braybrooke's idea of historical value should be inverted. If, by history he meant the chronicle of kings and queens, then he may be justified in his view, but the periodical considers history to consist of the everyday lives of the people:

According to this view, the historical value of Pepys's *Diary* is *infinitely increased* in the present edition, for a majority of the new passages relate to incidents in domestic life.<sup>80</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

For the sake of later discussion about responses to the first edition, a few of these points need to be highlighted. In terms of the theme of this chapter, that is, the growing appreciation and integration of trifling details, we can see in this quotation that the reviewer is quite directly taking issue with what Braybrooke had, in the first edition, called "trifling occurrences", and in the third, "quaint and minute details ... principally

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<sup>80</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 31, Jan - June 1849. p.162.

relating to scenes in domestic life" and giving these details historical significance. In other words, the evaluation of these elements of Pepys's *Diary* could still be a matter of contestation. This is central to the overall theme of my study, in the sense that I want to claim that readers had to be conditioned, through current debates focusing on the nature of history, to read Pepys's *Diary* in certain ways. The subsequent popularity of Pepys's *Diary* can obscure this history of interpretation.

In a similar vein to the *Gentleman's Magazine* the *Edinburgh Review* suggests that the historical value placed on the *Diary* depends on one's "definition of the term 'history'". This review takes the same tack as the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggesting that if our view of history is based on precedent and we believe that it is characterised by 'dignity' then Pepys's *Diary* must be rated low in historical value, but if history is to tell us about the "customs, habits, and opinions of our forefathers" then the whole picture changes.<sup>81</sup>

The *Living Age* ran three review articles on the third edition and, as with the reviews in other journals - especially the *Athenaeum* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* - these articles quite deliberately featured passages from the *Diary* which had previously been suppressed: "we confine ourselves altogether, in these notices, whether in our references or extracts, to matter which has not before been printed"<sup>82</sup> - on the basis that in the first edition Braybrooke had omitted some of the most interesting passages. The *Edinburgh Review* similarly suggests that the third edition shows that in the first edition Braybrooke had often suppressed "the most valuable and *characteristic* portion of the *Diary*". What emerges from this and other reviews is a sense that since 1825, the 'trivial details' Braybrooke

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<sup>81</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Vol 90, pp.554-555

<sup>82</sup> "Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys", *Living Age*, Vol.19, 1848 p.212.



had allowed into the first edition had come to represent something like the 'essence' of the text. The *Living Age* puts it this way: "There is nothing so *Pepysian* in *Pepys* as the passages that now appear for the first time". And of course these are the passages Braybrooke himself thought to be of minimal interest or importance. This implies some kind of pre-existing notion of what is most *Pepysian*, which the new edition fulfils, though not without some lingering doubts as to what remains suppressed. It has to be emphasised here, however, that this had not been the case with reviews of the first edition. Again, what these comments about the third edition indicate is that between 1825 and 1848 a mixture of familiarity and changing ideas about what constituted history had conditioned an acceptance of the 'trivial details' as essential to the *Diary's* flavour and meaning.

The first of the three review notices in the *Living Age* opens with a quite aggressive attack on Braybrooke, not only for what he had omitted in the first edition, but for continuing to suppress material in the third edition. The reviewer charges him with "a very presumptuous over-care; a too peremptory habit of assuming the excellence of one's own judgment, and exercising it too freely ... Out of what he now replaces in this famous *Diary*, we judge him for what he formerly omitted". The second paragraph deserves quoting in full because it serves as an apt illustration of the extent to which attitudes towards "trifling details" had changed between the time of the first and third editions. (It has to be added here that by the end of the century, when interpretations of Pepys's *Diary* emphasised the private, soul-baring man, as opposed to the public aspects of the text, every small detail was savoured and deemed essential to the work's meaning, less for its historical value than for its self-revelation.) When compared with the opinion of the *Living Age*, the *New Monthly*

*Magazine's* assessment of Braybrooke's editing of the first edition quoted above looks strangely equivocal. The following passage from the *Living Age* (1848) begins with a quotation from Braybrooke's preface to the third edition:

"Some persons even assumed," he says in the preface to the volume before us, "that the most entertaining passages had been excluded" from the former editions: and he seems triumphantly to imply, (with an odd sort of pride for an editor,) that his restorations, by their dulness, will sufficiently rebut the assumption. But we say, on the contrary, that by their liveliness they justify it. We pronounce them, without hesitation, entitled to rank with "the most entertaining passages." Lord Braybrooke has given us no help in the comparison, it is true; having as scrupulously avoided any indication of what is new in the volume, as he refuses the least clue to the pages where suppression is still practised, (both utterly unjustifiable steps in an editor, placed as Lord Braybrooke now is;) but we have been at some pains to compare the editions, and can, with tolerable accuracy, state the result. We should say that upwards of a third of the present volume is entirely new. The restorations, often very considerable, occur in almost every page. They are chiefly (not always, as in the curious descriptions connected with the expedition to bring Charles the Second to England) of private and domestic matters; but this constitutes their charm, and even - with deference to Lord Braybrooke - their "historical value".<sup>83</sup>

What this shows, among other things, is the degree to which reviewers in the middle of the century felt free openly and uncompromisingly to voice their criticism of Braybrooke. In 1825, doubts about his editing of the first edition had been expressed with some restraint and a willingness to take him at his word. But with the third edition, some reviewers became almost sarcastic in their attacks. Because one of the main claims of this study is that Pepys's *Diary* was first published - and published in the particular form it took - as a result of prevailing intellectual and cultural conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is important to

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<sup>83</sup>"Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys", *Living Age*, Vol. 18, 1848. pp.193-194.

isolate and elaborate what is particular to that period by detecting changes when they begin occurring. The hardening attitude to Braybrooke demonstrated in the above quotation can be attributed to a number of factors. Despite the obvious public acceptance of the text between 1825 and the present, Braybrooke still retains an old-fashioned opinion as to what constitutes the text's value, particularly in historical terms. Secondly, it is impertinent of him to judge on behalf of his readers. The reviewer's opinions of Braybrooke's shortcomings are based on the evidence of the first and third editions. Even if Braybrooke can be understood for exercising caution with the first edition, the success of the *Diary* leaves him no excuse for abridging the third edition. But the reviewer's opinions also seem to be very much shaped by other attitudes which had changed since 1825, not only towards the value of trifling details, but to the control of literary taste by the aristocracy, and by the scholarly requirements spawned by the emerging 'scientific' attitude towards history. To some extent all these are symptoms of the gradual enfranchisement of the everyday life of the past into the nation's history and consequently its political life. What went with this change was a whole new idea about textual and historical authenticity.

She came to me with a penitential face, and told me she had a great sin to confess: that Pepys's *Diary* was a forgery and that she had forged it. "What I have been reading of letters and in my history a forgery of youth as a book of the highest authority. How shall I ever hold my head up again?" I woke with the fright, poor Alice's suppliant voice still in my head.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Harvey, *A Course of English Literature* (London, 1866), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters of Mary Anne, Volume VI*, ed. Thomas F. Pears (Cambridge University Press, London, 1931), p. 268 and n. Pears notes that on the evidence of his journal (1-4/11/1864) was reading the 'new edition' of Pepys in November 1864. However, that is not sufficient evidence for dating the letter at that time. The only assumption that can be made, according to Pears, is that the letter comes after the publication of the edition of the end of 1864.



Three.

### UP, AND ENTER MY JOURNAL.

Every man likes to preserve the memorials of his youth, even when there is much in them to be sorry for and ashamed of. Would you have had Pepys, when he had become an eminent statesman, burn the journal of his early life, because it contains much that is ridiculous and some things that are blameable?

Thomas Babington Macaulay to Hannah Macaulay, 8 June, 1831.

In 1866, James Hannay said of Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History of England*, "Everybody reads him who reads anything".<sup>1</sup> A best-seller by any standard, the first volumes of Macaulay's *History* came out in the same year as Braybrooke's third edition of Pepys's *Diary*. That the two texts were associated in Macaulay's own mind can be seen from his account of a dream in an undated letter to his friend Thomas Flower Ellis. The letter must have been written sometime after the publication of the first two volumes of his *History* and possibly (though not necessarily) after the publication of the third edition of Pepys's *Diary*. In the dream, his niece, Alice Trevelyan had appeared bearing alarming news:

She came to me with a penitential face, and told me she had a great sin to confess; that Pepys's *Diary* was a forgery and that she had forged it. "What! I have been quoting in reviews and in my *History* a forgery of yours as a book of the highest authority. How shall I ever hold my head up again?" I woke with the fright, poor Alice's supplicating voice still in my head.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> James Hannay, *A Course of English Literature* (London, 1866.) p.313.

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters of Macaulay*, Volume VI, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge University Press, London, 1981.) p.268 and n. Pinney notes that on the evidence of his journal (I, 410) TBM was reading the 'new edition' of Pepys in November, 1848. However, that is not sufficient evidence for dating the letter at that time. The only assumption that can be made, according to Pinney, is that the letter comes after the publication of the *History* at the end of 1848.

We can never know the latent content of this dream, but in his account of the manifest content Macaulay appears to be acknowledging a conscious anxiety that Pepys's *Diary* (and by implication his own *History*) might turn out to be a forgery. No such doubt had existed for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in its review of Braybrooke's first edition twenty-three years earlier: "On [its] genuineness there cannot rest a shadow of suspicion".<sup>3</sup> Other periodicals were less peremptory in judging the work authentic, but all included some kind of discussion or statement to the effect that it was.

That the possibility of forgery with regard to Pepys's *Diary* actually arose in Macaulay's mind provides a perspective for the theme of this chapter which seeks to ask why readers in the early nineteenth century believed the text to be authentic? Given that a number of reviewers, like the one just quoted, did feel the need to proclaim the text's authenticity - or, to put it the other way around, could not leave the fact that it was perceived to be authentic *unsaid* - what did the concept of authenticity mean? Where were the lines drawn between authenticity and forgery? And what, we could ask, would have been at stake if Pepys's *Diary* had turned out to be a forgery of Alice Trevelyan's making?

"Forgeries", Ian Haywood concludes in a discussion of the early-1980s scandal surrounding the so-called Hitler diaries, "are subversive artefacts",<sup>4</sup> because they expose a whole system of cultural practices. Through imitation, forgeries call into play the same mechanisms used to authenticate 'real' artefacts. Culturally determined, and dependent on both authority and considerations external to the artefact or work itself, these mechanisms tell us a lot about our standards, about how we make evaluations and what we find significant. The process of exposing a

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<sup>3</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1825, p.234.

<sup>4</sup> Ian Haywood, *Faking It: Art and the Politics of Forgery*, (The Harvester Press, Brighton, 1987) p.2.

forgery, as the case of the *Mémoires de Louis XIII* (1832) discussed later in this chapter shows, requires a close examination of the text, at each point employing authenticating devices to negate, rather than affirm. This particular forgery had been sufficiently convincing to move the reviewer in the *Quarterly Review* (J.W. Croker) to conduct a finely detailed, protracted and exhaustive exposure in order, he says, to prevent readers wasting money and to spare future historians the embarrassment of finding they have used a spurious source. Croker's exposure of the forgery runs to twenty-five pages, as long as any other review article in the *Quarterly Review*. By its length and detail, it shows that the text cannot simply be *declared* a forgery. As will be seen later, the kinds of details Croker unearths show that in terms of reception, if not in terms of actuality, there is a fine line indeed between a forged memoir and an authentic memoir. That the *Mémoires de Louis XIII* are forged is not immediately self-evident. Furthermore, the analysis of someone who assumes a position of authority is required to expose it.

Authenticity, then, is not an inherent property of the text such that it is everywhere signified to any reader. What internal evidence there is, has to be interpreted and contextualised in order for the text to be received as authentic. Authenticity, therefore, results from an interplay of internal and external factors and it can be a complex and subtle interaction which makes it difficult to distinguish what is truly the property of the text and what is external to it. For example, as I will show in this chapter, Braybrooke's first edition was abridged in such a way that it highlighted and intensified internal 'evidence' of the text's authenticity. Readers based their judgments concerning authenticity on what they assumed to be internal evidence, in other words, what they assumed to be an inherent property of the text alone. Yet, in a number of significant ways, this



internal 'evidence' was already shaped by the application of external standards. In turn, these external standards, I want to argue, were themselves derived from commonly held beliefs, particular to the early nineteenth century, as to what constituted an authentic memoir or diary from the past. Braybrooke's shaping of the text was, in many ways, congruent with readers' expectations of an authentic memoir.

What this suggests is that there is no such thing as a 'pure' text, isolated from cultural forces, discrete, or self-contained in its authenticity. But this requires further consideration. Haywood distinguishes between a concern with the 'fact' of authenticity, and the process of authentication. In *Making History*, which focuses on the eighteenth-century forgeries of Chatterton and Macpherson, his interest is with the central importance of structuring into counterfeit texts from 'the past' the means by which authenticity may be signalled to a reader.<sup>5</sup> Forged texts are constructed by the *process* of authentication. This is logical when historical simulation is the aim, but what about a genuine document from the past? Surely such texts can stand on their own. If we suppose, for the sake of the argument, that we can guarantee the historical genuineness of the manuscript, that we can be certain, in the case of Pepys's journal, that it is what it purports to be - the real journal of a real man called Samuel Pepys who lived in London in the 1660s - what we find is that this fact on its own is insufficient to carry over into the published text such that it creates automatic belief in the text's authenticity. Here I want to recur to my performance model, because the process of authentication is intimately tied to the process of publication, the process by which the set of symbols on the page, representing the manuscript, is interpreted and transformed

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<sup>5</sup> Ian Haywood, *The Making of History: a study of the Literary forgeries of James Macpherson and Thomas Chatterton in Relation to eighteenth-Century Ideas of History and Fiction*, (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, London and Toronto, 1986). *passim*.

into a different set of symbols on the page, representing an edition. Leaving aside the possibility that it is itself a forgery, if we suppose the manuscript to be genuine in the way I have described, then its genuineness resides not only in what it says, but also in its material uniqueness. It is unique as a singly existing object, but also unique in its substance, a holograph in shorthand, with a particular disposition of entries on the page, changes in ink and penmanship, and so on. Lost in the process of publication, this *gestalt* of material uniqueness, which is so much part of the document's genuineness, has to be transformed and signified differently. Unable to stand on its own in the way the manuscript can, publication has to make up for an absence - the absence of historical uniqueness. The edition is constituted, in part, by the need to imply that it comes from a genuine source through a medium which is materially different from the source itself.

Part of the signification of the original source with regard to Pepys's *Diary* is the exaggeration through selective editing of certain details which give it its historical location. The manuscript itself does not internally signify what is in 1825 the *pastness* of its own present moment, but in order to recuperate that presence, part of the process of authentication, a publication in 1825 does need to relocate the text's presence in the past. Part of the recuperation of Pepys's journal involves intensifying its historicity in relation to the publication's own historical moment.

Clearly, in Macaulay's dream the fear of forgery is directly proportional to the degree to which he regards the text as one of the "highest authority". Also at stake - "How shall I ever hold my head up again?" - is his own role as a cultural authority. What this seems to say is that the need to establish authenticity is directly related to the reasons the text is valued. It would have mattered far less to Macaulay if Henry

Teonge's *Diary*, also written in the reign of Charles II, and published in 1825, had been forged. It would certainly have mattered if Evelyn's *Diary* had been forged, but as with that of Teonge, a forged Evelyn's *Diary* would have mattered less than a forged Pepys's *Diary*. Why is this the case? What makes Pepys's *Diary* a text of the highest authority, what gives it its cultural value, and why its authenticity matters, is that it is seen to fulfil a primary set of conditions for a historical document within early nineteenth-century desiderata: it has immediacy, fulness, and it was not written to be read by anyone but the author. Compared with that of Evelyn, as I will show later, Pepys's *Diary* was seen to be less self-conscious, less 'literary' and therefore more highly valued as an eyewitness account of the past. All these conditions provided nineteenth-century readers with a text which conformed to the new epistemological ideal, because it appeared to carry the 'authentic' testimony of sensory experience. The value of Pepys's *Diary* had to do with what was perceived to be the text's perspective, in other words, not just with its density of 'information', though it was often in terms of the information it offered that it appeared to be valued. I suggested above that in order to recuperate the presence of its past, the text-in-publication was made to signal its historicity as part of the process of authentication. One of the chief ways in which that occurred in the first edition was by verifying it as record of immediate sensory experience. Pepys's *Diary* was shaped by Braybrooke and received by readers as a text which reported history as it happened.

This chapter looks at the historical moment embracing the first and third editions of Pepys's *Diary* from another angle. In the last chapter I discussed readers' attempts to accommodate the trifling details within the changing historical paradigms of the early nineteenth century. Here, the



argument concentrates on authenticity and its relationship to interpretation and value. Again, I am using an interactive, performance model. It may seem that a disproportionate amount of this chapter serves to denigrate Braybrooke's editions. That is not the intention. The underlying premiss of this study is the idea that *all* editions of the text are necessarily performances, that there can never be a perfect, or definitive edition, that there is, in short, an unbridgeable gap between manuscript and publication, and that therefore, the nature of any edition is shaped by current perceptions and preoccupations. The bulk of this chapter is a close examination of some details of Braybrooke's first and third editions. Those editions are the result of complex interactions between the manuscript and early nineteenth-century conceptions of history, of types and genres of writing, and even of human nature and selfhood. While this study concentrates on the early nineteenth century, the same kind of approach could be taken with the Latham-Matthews edition of Pepys's *Diary*. What is interesting, however, about the first edition in particular, is that it introduced a wholly new work to the public and it established certain ideas about the text which remained in circulation, like the edition itself, for a long time. After considering Braybrooke's editions I want to look at what correlations exist between them and the reviews. One way of giving the discussion an orientation, in the light of Macaulay's dream, would be to ask why early nineteenth-century readers did not find Pepys's *Diary* a forgery of Alice Trevelyan's making.

But before going on to conduct an examination of Braybrooke's editions, I want to foreshadow later more extensive discussion of authenticity in the reviews, by illustrating how interpretation, evaluation and authenticity are inextricably bound together. In the next few pages I want to discuss what I call the 'structure of secrecy' erected around

Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century. This consists of two principal elements, internal evidence which is imputed to show that Pepys wrote for his own eyes only, and the fact of the shorthand, which supports this notion. This structure of secrecy is central to an understanding of how the text was valued in the nineteenth century and how it was authenticated.

The following two quotations from reviews of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* demonstrate that establishing, or as is more often the case, *asserting*, the text's authenticity, is inseparable from how its truth is seen to be embodied textually. Part of establishing the document's authenticity, in other words, involves validating its point of view in terms of the nature of the writing. After a number of questions as to how the manuscript managed to survive unread until the nineteenth century, the reviewer for the *Westminster Review* says:

On the fact ... of his having written the Diary for his own sole use - for such, on the internal evidence before us, we may presume to have been the fact - rests the *great value* we are disposed to attach to the work. ... [Pepys] was in the habit of nightly confessing ... to his Diary, with a fulness and frankness which could only spring from a mistaken confidence in the inviolability of his confessional. The record, no matter by what fortunate concurrence of circumstances, has survived - the confessions of a member of administration - its *veracity unquestionable* - its details minute and satisfactory. (Emphasis mine.)<sup>6</sup>

If we want to understand why this reviewer takes the work to be authentic, we need to look at the reasons given for its value. Had it been a forgery, of course, its value and veracity would have collapsed. One of the key terms linking the text's authenticity with the way it is valued as a diary is the term "record" carrying the implication, as I have suggested already in the Introduction, that it is a transcription, rather than a written

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<sup>6</sup>*Westminster Review*, Vol. 4, July-October, 1825.p.410.

mediation, of reality. But what tells us it is such a record? Cause and effect are more clearly visible with the parenthetical clause in the first sentence removed: "On the fact ... of his having written the Diary for his own sole use ... rests the great value we are disposed to attach to the work." So the idea that Pepys wrote only for himself - which itself is not a *fact*, but an assumption, leads to the textual qualities by which it is valued. The same formulation has already been seen in several previous quotations. Authenticity and value can be seen to be linked in this passage because the "great value" of the text is not seen to reside in the "contents" alone - the historical information, the hard facts - but in the nature of the creative process by which the contents are given us, that it was written for the writer's sole use. As I will discuss later, with reference to Walter Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary*, the need to believe that Pepys had absolutely no intention to publish and that he wrote only for himself, was close to an obsession with nineteenth-century commentators, not only in the early part of the century, but also in the second half, though for different reasons. It is central to the whole question of authenticity. It seems to be based on current ideas about "authenticity" in the metaphysical sense - that is, the idea that an accurate apprehension of the world could only result from uncompromised individual perception. For Pepys's *Diary* to be an authentic seventeenth-century diary in the sense of its being a genuine document, that is, *not a forgery*, it also had to prove its "authenticity" in this metaphysical sense. Its "unquestionable veracity" is thereby affirmed.

Authenticity, in both senses of the term, is also implied by the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Here, it is because what Pepys relates of events like the Great Fire and the Plague corroborates what is already known:



This indeed is the great charm of his Diary, for independently of strong internal testimony to his veracity, the facts which he relates, of which we have contemporary history, are so accurately given, as to leave the strongest conviction of the truth of the whole.<sup>7</sup>

While this may not appear directly to be questioning the text's authenticity, the terms used - "strong internal testimony to his veracity"; "strongest conviction of the truth of the whole" - suggest the reviewer is not free from the need to banish doubt. The desire to affirm veracity and truth are inseparable from affirming this text as the genuine diary of a man who lived in the seventeenth century. In this case, independent external and internal evidence is brought to bear. In the next sentence after that just quoted, the reviewer declares that it is unusual for a "Placeman", like Pepys, not to be tempted to swerve from the "truth", but that Braybrooke's praise for Pepys on this account may be spared "when we consider that this Journal was intended for no eye but his own". Placeman or not, one tells the truth under the conditions of complete privacy.

In both these reviews expressing faith in the truth of the text's contents becomes inseparable from discussing the process by which those contents came to be written. The value of what the text says hinges on the idea that Pepys wrote exclusively for himself. Both claim that this is elicited, in part, by internal evidence, yet neither review actually discusses of what this internal evidence consists. The two major pieces of internal evidence most often cited by other commentators as proof that it was for the writer's eyes only are the last passage in the journal where he mentions that because of failing eyesight, from now on he will have to dictate only what is fit for others to hear, and the expression of regret at having told

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<sup>7</sup>*Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1825. p.233.

Mr. Coventry that he kept a journal. As many twentieth-century commentators have pointed out, his kind of 'factual' internal evidence conflicts with other kinds of evidence, making Pepys's intentions far less cut and dried. Why was the manuscript so carefully preserved and shelved in the library he bequeathed to Magdalene College? 'Hard' internal evidence may lead us to assume that it was not intended to be read during the period of its composition, or even during the writer's lifetime, but there is nothing to prevent us thinking that it was planted to be read in the future. There is no evidence which is commensurate with the *absoluteness* of nineteenth-century statements about the secrecy of the text, that it was written in private and that it was never intended to be published. Why were these statements so absolute? The point to underline heavily here is that the secrecy of the text is crucially linked to its veracity. I want to pick this up at a later part of the chapter in order to speculate as to why this link between secrecy and truth might have been so important in the nineteenth century. In its review of Braybrooke's third edition, the *Edinburgh Review* restated the nexus of secrecy and truth to the writer's experience:

...the internal evidence of the volumes is hardly reconcilable with *any other supposition* than that they were written from a mechanical habit acquired by the author of committing daily to paper, under the protection of a cipher, his every action, motive and thought.<sup>8</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

In this quotation, the reviewer introduces another aspect of the relationship between the journal's composition and its authenticity: it was written daily. The *Atheneum* says of Pepys in relation to the third edition:

He thought as he felt and wrote as he thought; so that the use of shorthand, which he employed throughout the whole of his Diary,

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<sup>8</sup>*Edinburgh Review*, Vol.90, October 1849, pp.553-554.

enabled him to enter with the facility of the wish the past action, the yesterday's gossip of his friends, and the passing reflections of his own mind".<sup>9</sup>

For this reviewer complete congruence between every thought and feeling Pepys had and the recording of them in the text, is guaranteed by the secrecy of the shorthand. This review also contains a comparison between the qualities of Pepys's *Diary* and those of other diarists and memorialists - Dee, Ashmole, Swift, Byron and Scott - and finds it superior to all these "in that his Diary was kept without the slightest view to publication".<sup>10</sup> The reviewer goes on to suggest that even in the unlikely event that Pepys had deliberately preserved his diary for posthumous publication:

It still remains to be proved - what every entry in the 'Diary' will serve to refute - that at any time during the ten years over which it extends it had been for a moment in his thoughts that his memoranda would be published ... and become what they now are - the ablest picture of the age in which the writer lived.<sup>11</sup>

From these examples we could ask why secrecy was thought to guarantee 'objective truth', why, in private, Pepys was not inventing an imaginary Restoration world, or 'constructing' this world, or even inserting bits of personal fantasy. Looked at from this angle we can see that reading the text as one whose imputed secrecy of composition necessarily leads to the objective veracity of its contents is a reading deeply implicated in nineteenth-century views about realism and the truth of individual experience. Yet what is called internal evidence by the reviewers is more capacious than this. As the quotation from the *Westminster Review* indicates, it is on the basis of the frankness and fulness of the writer's

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<sup>9</sup> *Athenaeum*, No..1080, 8 July, 1848. p.669.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*



confessions that the reviewer assumes secrecy. Again, as I shall mention later in the chapter with reference to Walter Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary*, this is a deduction made in reverse. No-one would write some of what is found in the text *unless* it were for the writer's eyes only.

Another proof of the text's privacy comes from the fact that it was written in shorthand. In my Introduction I referred to Edwin Chappell's outspoken criticisms of publishers who, in the 1930s, continue to publish Braybrooke's third edition as *Pepys's Diary* and those who still publish the first edition. In 1933, four years before he made these criticisms, Chappell gave a paper called "The Secrecy of the Diary" before the Samuel Pepys Club. In his paper Chappell suggests that there are two classes of writers on Pepys, "those who state dogmatically that Pepys never intended his Diary to be seen by eyes other than his own; and those who are not quite sure". He further supposes that no-one would believe it had been "obviously written for publication".<sup>12</sup> It should be said here that Chappell refers to commentators of his own day. Had he been talking about the nineteenth century, he would have found almost no exceptions to those who dogmatically assert that Pepys wrote for his own eyes only. The aim of the paper is to discuss the shorthand as the principal base upon which the *Diary's* reputation for secrecy rests. Chappell had a provocative, iconoclastic streak, and suggesting that the British public loves anything of a mysterious nature, says that in Pepys it has been provided with what it wants since "it has been told that Pepys wrote his Diary in a cipher - a secret cipher - a secret cipher of his own invention, to give the customary degrees of comparison".<sup>13</sup> Whether or not we accept Chappell's "mystery" theory, he is right to point to the remarkable persistence of the

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<sup>12</sup>Edwin Chappell "The Secrecy of the Diary", a paper delivered before the Samuel Pepys Club, 24 November, 1933. p.3.

<sup>13</sup>Edwin Chappell, p.3

idea that Pepys wrote in a secret cipher of his own devising, long beyond the time when this had been refuted publicly.

The paper was delivered in the tercentenary of Pepys's birth, a year in which a number of celebratory articles appeared about him in the press. Chappell challenges those in his audience who doubt the currency of a belief in a secret cipher by quoting from various press cuttings. He might have quoted from a book published three years earlier called *English Diaries* edited by Elizabeth D'Oyley. In her introduction to selected passages from Pepys's *Diary*, D'Oyley says, "the *Diary* was written in a secret shorthand invented by Pepys himself, and it was not till more than 100 years after his death that anyone discovered how to read it".<sup>14</sup> D'Oyley does use the term shorthand rather than cipher, but the idea that Pepys invented it perfectly illustrates Chappell's point. The term "cipher", or "secret cipher" rather than "system of shorthand" did persist through the nineteenth century and it was used as a way of explaining the absolute privacy and secrecy of the *Diary* - and, associated with that, its uncompromised truth. Even as recently as 1975, after the Latham/Matthews edition had begun to appear, we find the following quite remarkable statement from James E. Ruoff in Macmillan's *Handbook of Elizabethan and Stuart Literature*: "Writing in a code mingling Latin, Greek, Spanish, French, German, and his own improvised cipher, it was intended solely for his own amusement and was not decoded and published until 1825".<sup>15</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Against such "archaic heresies" as he calls them in another paper<sup>16</sup> Chappell mounts a refreshingly iconoclastic argument. There is a difference between cipher

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<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth D'Oyley (ed.), *English Diaries*, (Edward Arnold, London, 1930.) p.61.

<sup>15</sup> James Ruoff, *Macmillan's Handbook of Elizabethan and Stuart Literature*, (Macmillan, London, 1975.) p.334.

<sup>16</sup> Edwin Chappell, *Bibliographia Pepysiana* (Privately printed by Edwin Chappell, 1937) no pagination.

and shorthand and, he continues, the author of a system of shorthand such as that used by Pepys, "has no aims at secrecy: on the contrary, he is a commercially-minded person, who wishes to sell as many copies of his book as possible".<sup>17</sup> "Pepys", he concludes, "was not such a fool as to imagine that he would derive much protection from a thirty-four year old system of shorthand".<sup>18</sup> I mentioned in the Introduction that William Matthews stresses the popularity of Shelton's system of shorthand in the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the number of editions of handbooks published between 1626 and the early eighteenth century. Chappell argues that had the manuscript been found, a secret cipher with some words in longhand might have aroused suspicion, especially in Mrs. Pepys, that Hewer could read the shorthand and that part of the structure of secrecy attributed to Pepys's writing is that he "wrote the diary in private in his office so that his wife could not see it". Chappell's point is not that Pepys did not take care to keep the journal hidden, but that it was not the shorthand on which he depended, simply lock and key.

What we could call the text's perceived 'structure of secrecy', governed by a belief - or, more importantly, the desire to believe - that Pepys wrote for his own eyes only, is largely supported by the related belief that the shorthand functioned as a private code. Why has this belief persisted? In part, it may be explained by the proliferation of 'Braybrooke' editions causing certain ideas to be perpetuated. I put forward the idea in the Introduction that there have been so many reprintings of the first edition, well into the twentieth century, that it is likely more people have read Pepys's *Diary* in this form than in any other. Also, Braybrooke's third (and fourth) editions kept appearing. Two aspects of this influence the

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<sup>17</sup>Edwin Chappell, "The Secrecy of the Diary", p.4

<sup>18</sup>*ibid.*



way the secrecy of the *Diary* is understood. In the first place, the reprintings carry Braybrooke's preface to the first edition. In it, Braybrooke himself does use the term "shorthand", rather than "cipher", but it had been "*deciphered*" (rather than transcribed) by John Smith. In the absence of the Shelton's key, this had, of course, literally been the case.

In his original preface, reprinted so frequently, Braybrooke tells the reader how the text should be regarded:

In justice to Mr Pepys's literary reputation, the reader is forewarned that he is not to expect to find in the *Diary* accuracy of style or finished composition. He should rather consider the Work as a collection of reminiscences hastily thrown together at the end of each succeeding day, for the exclusive perusal of the Author.

The Journal contains the most unquestionable evidences of veracity; and, as the writer made no scruple of committing his most secret thoughts to paper, encouraged no doubt by the confidence which he derived from the use of shorthand, perhaps there never was a publication more implicitly to be relied upon for the authenticity of its statements and the exactness with which every fact is detailed.<sup>19</sup>

The influence of this preface can be seen in the reviews quoted above. The key elements of Braybrooke's statement are that the *Diary* is unliterary and hastily composed, written daily, at the end of each day, yet on this basis of this and because of both internal evidence and the use of shorthand, reveals the writer's most secret thoughts and shows unquestionable veracity, authenticity and factual exactness and detail. This nexus of interpretation sets the pattern for readers' comments. It is significant that Braybrooke felt the need to state the veracity and authenticity of the text, but it can be noticed that he does not affirm the authenticity of the manuscript. It is the *publication* which can be *implicitly* relied upon for the authenticity of its statements. What is being said here? In the first place it

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<sup>19</sup>B1.vi-vii

is worth noting that "authenticity" does not refer only to the genuineness of the text, that it is really a seventeenth-century diary written by Samuel Pepys. It also refers to the fact that it is authentic in the sense that what it tells is true because it proceeds undistorted from the accurate observations of the writer. 'Authenticity', as used here by Braybrooke, reverberates with sincerity and truth. With regard to imbuing the publication rather than the manuscript with authenticity, Braybrooke may unintentionally be fusing the two texts. Yet, as the following discussion shows, this construction can be viewed more suspiciously. The evidence of the published text itself suggests that Braybrooke was anxious to see that the *Diary* be taken as the transcription of a real seventeenth-century diary. Paradoxically, as I will indicate, this required carefully excluding parts of the manuscript which might lessen its authenticity. Because of the patterns which emerge from it, this exercise in selective abridgment could not have been unconscious on Braybrooke's part. His statement about the authenticity of the publication is made, therefore, in the awareness that he has carefully shaped the edition so that readers might take it to be authentic. It would appear that he was therefore keen to assert the authenticity of the publication itself. In a sense, this makes Braybrooke's first edition like the forgeries of Chatterton and Macpherson in so far as the presentation of the text as a publication depended on structuring-in authenticating signals.

It is true that reprintings of Braybrooke's first edition have carried prefaces of their own counteracting *some* of what Braybrooke says. Echoing Braybrooke's form of words in an earlier part of his preface, the "Chandos Classics" edition, for example, says that the manuscript is "closely written in Rich's system of shorthand, which Pepys doubtless adopted from the possibility of his journal falling into unfriendly hands

during his life, or being rashly communicated to the public after his death".<sup>20</sup> While this at least acknowledges Pepys's use of a *system* of shorthand, even though it is the wrong one, it illustrates Chappell's point that the main purpose of the shorthand is taken to be secrecy.<sup>21</sup> The most cynical construction one could put on this would be that reprints of Braybrooke's editions, in order to remain viable as commercial propositions, could not be seen to contradict Braybrooke outright. Other twentieth-century reprints of Braybrooke's first edition suggest this is the case. One published by Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. (Scribner's in New York)<sup>22</sup> simply carries Braybrooke's original preface and another called *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, published by Collins, with an introduction by Audley Hay Johnston<sup>23</sup>, opens with Braybrooke's preface but completely evades the issue of the shorthand in the newly-written introduction. So, readers of these editions in Chappell's time were encouraged, by a kind of default, to think of the system as secret. The point remains, however, that since Braybrooke's preface, with the interpretative statement quoted above, has introduced probably millions of readers to Pepys's *Diary*, its influence on attitudes to the text has been quite profound.

If we take a hint from Chappell's paper we can begin to explore Braybrooke's editing rationale further, and find more subtle explanations for the persistence of some beliefs about the secrecy of the *Diary*. Chappell suggests in his paper that many of the "mystery mongers", those who

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<sup>20</sup>B1, p.iv ("Chandos Classics" preface to this edition.).

<sup>21</sup> Jeremiah Rich's system of shorthand (1654) was a rival to that of Shelton. See L-M, Vol 1. p.li.

<sup>22</sup>*The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esquire F.R.S.*, (Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., n.d.)

<sup>23</sup>*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, with and Introduction by Audley Hay Johnston M.A. (Collins, London and Glasgow, n.d.)



emphasise the secrecy of the journal, claim that in order to keep it hidden from his wife, Pepys wrote in private, in his office. Chappell then goes on to refute this by quoting from 27 August, 1662:<sup>24</sup> "After I had wrote this at my office (as I have of late altogether done, since my wife hath been in the country), I went into my house". He suggests that this indicates quite clearly that Pepys's normal practice had been to write the journal at home "and the very reason that our mystery mongers would have accepted as sufficient for temporary writing at home, namely, his wife being away, is given as the reason for writing at the office".<sup>25</sup> Following this Chappell cites as further proof five more passages<sup>26</sup>, each of which deserves close attention:

4 July, 1662 Up by 5 a-clock; and after my Journall put in order, to my office about my business ...

23 Nov., 1665 ... So in the evening parted, and I to the office, where late writing letters; and at my lodging later, writing for the last twelve days my Journall, and so to bed. ...

17 March, 1666 Up, and to finish my Journall, which I had not sense enough the last night to make an end of - and thence to the office, where very busy all the morning ...

25 Dec., 1666 ... and then to my chamber to enter this day's journal [*sic*] only, and then to bed ...

6 Oct. 1667 ... Supper done and he [Pelling] gone, I to my chamber to write my Journall to this night, and so to bed.

Apart from confirming Chappell's argument that internal evidence does not give readers licence to assume Pepys only wrote his journal in his office, these particular passages illustrate some other quite significant points. Keeping Braybrooke's preface in mind, close attention to these

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<sup>24</sup>Edwin Chappell, "The Secrecy of the Diary", pp.6-7.

<sup>25</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>For convenience I am calling these quotations "passages", a term which is sometimes used more specifically to apply to the whole entry under a single date.

passages begins to yield contradictory patterns. At the same time as telling us where Pepys wrote, each passage either hints at, or states, how much he wrote at a time. In the passage for 4 July, 1662, the reference is vague. But if we look at 2 July, the only essential difference between the two is that on the earlier date the time of rising is an hour earlier: "Up while the chimes went 4 - and to put down my Journall; and so to my office...". No firm conclusions can be drawn from this, but both these entries imply writing at least the previous days' entry in the morning. Evidence of ink and penmanship indicates that the first sentence of 4 July was entered at the same time as 3 July and it may be that 2 July was entered at this time, too. Possibly the two days were entered between the two references to writing the journal. (Parenthetically, it can be noticed here that both these entries offer a different pattern of writing. Both mention entering the journal in the morning, rather than at the end of the day, and both mention going to the office after having done so.) On 6 October, 1667, the narrator mentions writing his journal "to this night". In the Latham-Matthews edition, which cites all such internal references in the Volume Eleven *Index*, this date is grouped with other entries written "for unstated periods"<sup>27</sup>. My own examination of Pepys's manuscript suggests, through the consistency of ink, quality of the pen itself and writing, that it is highly probable this refers to entering three days, 4, 5 and 6 October together, *excluding* the beginning of the first sentence of 4 October - "Up and to White-hall to attend the Council about Comissioner Pett's business" - which is entirely consistent with the previous three days and which themselves appear to have been entered together. Another scenario can be suggested from this, which the evidence of the manuscript makes plausible. My contention, as I have already suggested, is that on

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<sup>27</sup>L-M, vol 11.p.82.

the basis of the manuscript, Pepys did not always refer to entering more than one day at a time, although often it is mentioned. So, for example, in this case, it is plausible that he wrote 1, 2 and 3 October and *the first sentence* of 4 October at the one time, then the remainder of 4, 5 and 6 October together.

The quotation from 25 December, 1666, is interesting in that it is a specific reference to writing only one day, almost as if that were not the normal practice and indeed, the manuscript suggests that around this time, Pepys had often been writing in blocks. On both 18 November, 1666, and 25 November, 1666, the text uses an identical phrase: "to my chamber to even my Journall". From the appearance of the manuscript it is possible that 16 to 18 November were entered together and then 21 to 25 November together. It is perhaps a small point to make, but we can see with both 2 and 4 July, 1662 and 18 and 25 November, 1666, the writer uses similar phraseology for a similar pattern of writing. This is something which occurs throughout the text. It is as if within what most commentators see as a relatively unvarying pattern, there are other pulses running which may last a short time and disappear. As I will suggest later, there are times when it is as if the text contains little experiments in different kinds of writing.

The reference above in Chappell's paper to entering twelve days on 23 November, 1665 is clearly delineated by ink and penmanship in the manuscript. Again, an examination of the manuscript shows several quite dramatic changes in ink, thickness of the script, and style of writing at various times over the period from October to November suggesting several blocks of days had been entered. In some instances these changes correlate so well with what the text tells us - as in entering twelve days on 23 November, 1665 - that at other times, when these kinds of changes and



groupings are *visibly* apparent in the manuscript, but lacking an accompanying internal reference, we can at least speculate that this could have been the case. From the perspective of pen and ink changes, the reference to entering twelve days looks as if it refers to entering from the last sentence on 12 November to 23 November, inclusive. It is worth adding here what Pepys wrote two days before the beginning of this long entry, at the beginning of 10 November, 1665:

Up, and enter all my Journall since the 28 October, having every day's passage well in my head, though it troubles me to remember it; and what I was forced to, being kept from my lodging, where my books and papers are, for several days.<sup>28</sup>

Two whole weeks have been written in at one time. But this passage also expresses some concern that the writer does not have his books and papers with him to refer to, but must write from memory.<sup>29</sup> That he feels it necessary to comment on the fact that he must remember seems to suggest that it is not the normal practice. Although this is not a point to be developed here, it is worth noting the terminology "every day's passage". It is clear from the manuscript that Pepys did not write every day, but it is significant that he generally gave the text the appearance of having individual daily entries, and this terminology suggests he shaped it in his mind in discrete days.<sup>30</sup> Most commentators on Pepys's *Diary* have assumed a literal correlation between entries under daily dates and actual composition. But if we think of the text in different terms, emphasising the idea that whatever the writer's compositional habits, a daily *form* was imposed on the material, new and interesting questions open up not

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<sup>28</sup>L-M, vol 6.p.295.

<sup>29</sup>See L-M Vol.1 pp.cii-ciii

<sup>30</sup> See L-M with regard to ending pages etc. and ciii and also Fothergill.

unlike those we can ask about eighteenth-century epistolary novels, or novels which present themselves as actual diaries, or real histories, and so on. What kind of tension exists between the formal organisation and the material? This is an aspect of Pepys's text which could provide future critics with new areas to explore. It is clear, for example, that if we begin to read the text in terms of the blocks of days we know to have been entered together, we begin to see, that as Matthews suggests, there are sweeping passages comprising more than one day. As well as the week of the Great Fire, the most obvious examples of these are journeys which provide the occasion for a unified narrative covering the duration of the journey. But if other passages known to have been entered this way are read as a piece, we can begin to see that the writer was often edging into episodic narratives, despite the daily disposition of the entries. This, gives a whole new interest to the text, but it contrasts sharply with the way it was seen in the nineteenth century.

If we now go back to Chappell's paper, we can begin to extend his argument. First, he has taken his quotations from the Wheatley edition of the *Diary*. What he did not mention in his paper is that every single one of the passages as quoted is omitted from Braybrooke's first edition, and only the first, 4 July, 1662 is included in his third, 1848, edition.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the other three passages from Pepys's *Diary* I have mentioned above, in addition to those cited by Chappell- that is 10 November, 1665, 18 November, 1666, and 25 November, 1666 - and which explicitly refer to the way the journal was written, were omitted by Braybrooke in all his editions.

<sup>31</sup> Here I am using the word "passages" only to refer exactly to what Chappell quotes, not to passages as in whole daily entries.

The nature of Braybrooke's omissions are telling. Take, for example, the passage for 23 November, 1665. In the first edition it is confined to a single sentence. But in the third edition, in which most of the entry is restored (though with some re-writing) the only omissions consist of a sentence which would have been considered too indecent to print, and the sentence containing the reference to writing twelve days. These are quite clearly deliberate omissions, as are scores of other such references, in conformity with Braybrooke's assertion that Pepys wrote *at the end of each succeeding day*. Already some of the passages quoted illustrate that the writing did not always occur at the end of the day, nor on each succeeding day.

In the Latham-Matthews edition the following forms the whole of the second half of the entry for 18 November, 1666:

Sir W. Penn, it seems, he would not stay for it; so making slight of Sir W. Penn's putting so much weight upon his hand to Sir W. Batten, I down to the Tower-wharf and there got a Sculler, and to White-hall and there met Lord Brouncker and he signed it; and so I delivered it to Mr. Chevins, and he to Sir W. Coventry in the Cabinet, the King and Council being sitting - where I leave it to his fortune, and I by water home again, and to my chamber to even my Journall. And then comes Captain Cocke to me, and he and I a great deal of melancholy discourse of the times, giving all over for gone, though now the Parliament will soon finish the Bill for money. But we fear if we had it, as matters are now managed, we shall never make the best of it, but consume it all to no purpose - or a bad one. He being gone, I again to my Journall and finished it; and to supper - and to bed.<sup>32</sup>

In Braybrooke's first edition, there is no entry for this date, and in the third edition the above passage reads as follows:

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<sup>32</sup> For the sake of space I will not give footnote references to all the passages quoted from the *Diary*. The date itself is sufficient reference and clearly marked in all editions. When I refer to "full text" I mean the Latham-Matthews edition. Unless otherwise indicated the other passages have come from the "Chandos Classics" reprint of Braybrooke's first edition and the George Allen and Unwin four-volume verbatim reprint (1929) of the third edition.



Sir W. Pen, it seems, he would not stay for it: so, making slight of Sir W. Pen's putting so much weight upon his hand, I to White Hall, and there met Lord Brouncker, and he signed it, and so I delivered it to Mr. Chiffinch, and he to Sir W. Coventry, in the cabinet, the King and councill being sitting, where I leave it to its fortune.

Braybrooke's edition leaves off, mid-sentence, just at the point where the writer mentions going home to "even my Journall", a task which was interrupted by Captain Cocke and resumed some time later. Again, what is written here does not conform to Braybrooke's model and so it is left out by him. The full passage hints at the possibility that more than one day was being written up. The time factor seems to support this. The entry for the day itself is not very long. We cannot, of course, tell from the fact that Pepys finished the entry in two attempts what the duration of each attempt was, nevertheless, this entry offers strong evidence contradicting Braybrooke's confident assertion that Pepys wrote "a collection of reminiscences hastily thrown together at the end of each succeeding day". It was part of Braybrooke's performance of the text to make it seem so.

These are not isolated examples, but part of the overall pattern of abridgment. The idea that the journal was entered at the end of each day may well have drawn attention to the phrase "and so to bed", which seems to imply "now having made my day's account, I take myself to bed". Yet a closer look at the manuscript, taking into account a far greater complexity and variability of composition than Braybrooke allows, indicates that on occasions, "and so to bed" may well have been written the next morning, or, in fact several days later. On 31 May, 1662, for example, the entry begins: "Lay long in bed. So up to make up my Journall for these two or three days past." If we look back over those previous three days we find the last sentence for 28 May is "so to bed", for 29 May it is the same, for 30

May "...and I to bed". In other words, this most famous of Pepysian phrases, the signature for each day, does not necessarily mean what it has been taken to mean. It can sometimes be regarded as meaning "and so I went to bed" rather than "and now I take myself to bed". But this may be as literal-minded on my part as the conventional meaning. Rather, "so to bed" becomes part of the formal aspect of the text. Sometimes the journal was written in the morning, occasionally, as on 21 February, 1669, in the middle of the day. The point is that there is no *necessary* correlation between composition and content.

This leads to a further investigation of Braybrooke's excisions. In the handful of entries mentioned above, several mention getting up to enter the journal. The following fifteen days all mention entering the journal in the morning, rather than at night and many of them also mention writing up several days at a time: 17 May, 1660; 22 May, 1660; 23 September, 1660; 31 May, 1662; 24 August, 1662; 14 July, 1663; 28 July, 1663; 12 August, 1663; 10 November, 1665; 13 December, 1665; 15 June, 1666; 18 June, 1666; 16 August, 1666; 17 July 1667; 19 October, 1668. (This represents only a sample of such entries, there are more.)

As I suggested above, some of Braybrooke's excisions seem deliberately selective in order to make the publication conform to his notion of a diary "hastily thrown together at the end of each succeeding day". The following five passages selected from the above list show the writer getting up to enter the journal:

(17 May, 1660) Up early to write down my last two days observations. Then Dr. Clerke came to me to tell me that he heard this morning, by some Duch [sic] that are come on board already to see the ship, that there was a Portugese taken yesterday at The Hague that had a design to kill the King ...

(22 May, 1660) Up very early; and now beginning to be settled in my wits again. I went about setting down my last four days'

observation this morning. After that, was trimmed by a barber that hath not trimmed me yet, my Spaniard being on shore. ...

(23 September, 1660) My wife got up to put on her mourning today and to go to church this morning. I up and set down my Journall for these five days past. This morning came one from my father's with a black cloth coate, made of my short cloak, to walk up and down in. ...

(24 August, 1662) <Lord's day> Slept till 7 a-clock today, which I have not done a very great while, but it was my weariness last night that caused it.

So rose and to my office till church-time, writing down my yesterday's observations; and so to church - where I all alone and found Will Griffin and Tho. Hewett ...

(18 June, 1666) Up betimes, and in my chamber most of the morning, setting things to right there, my Journall and my accounts with my father and brother. Then to the office a little, and so to Lumberd-street to borrow a little money upon a tally, but cannot. ...

Compare these with the openings for the same days in Braybrooke's third edition. (I am quoting from the third edition here to show how the text appeared after Braybrooke had claimed to "insert in its proper place every passage that had been omitted" in the first edition, barring those of no interest, or those too indelicate to publish. By quoting from the third edition, both first and third editions are comprehended insofar as anything omitted in the third edition, is also left out of the first.)

(17 May, 1660) Dr. Clerke came to tell me that he heard this morning, by some Dutch that are come on board already to see the ships, that there was a Portugese taken yesterday at the Hague, that had a design to kill the King....

(22 May, 1660) Up, and trimmed by a barber that has not trimmed me yet, my Spaniard being on shore. ...

(23 September, 1660) Come one from my father's with a black cloth coat, made of my short cloak, to walk up and down in. ...



(24 August, 1662) (Lord's day.) To church, where I all alone, and found Will Griffin and Thomas Hewett ...

(18 June, 1666) To the office, and so to Lumbard Streete, to borrow a little money upon a tally, but cannot. ...

Each of these (as with the other entries in the above list) quite conspicuously omits the reference to rising and entering the journall. For 22 May, 1660, Braybrooke alters the narrative by opening with "Up" and then skipping the reference to entering four days, to yoke the next part of the sentence to the first word. In the other four passages either the first sentence, or the first couple of sentences are omitted in order to avoid the reference to writing the journal. In the entry for 24 August, 1662, Braybrooke's edition begins half way through the sentence after the reference to writing yesterday's observations. Yet in the third edition, if not the first, the remainder of each of these passages is reasonably 'full', if not complete. Clearly, these excisions are quite calculated.

This pattern is repeated throughout Braybrooke's editions. But it is more than just a case of omitting the references to getting up and entering the journal. A statistical representation of Braybrooke's omissions tells us something very important about the shape of his editions. There are, throughout the text, some one-hundred-and-fourteen explicit references to having entered the journal either for one day, for more than one day (up to fourteen) at a time, or for unspecified periods. Of these one-hundred-and-fourteen internal references, Braybrooke's first edition includes only seven, and the third edition includes eighteen. The whole text includes fifteen references to entering a single day. Braybrooke's first edition includes none of these and the third includes two. The whole text includes forty-nine references to entering between two and fourteen days at a time. Braybrooke's first edition includes only four of these and the

third edition includes seven. There are fifty references in the whole text to entering unspecified numbers of days - the evidence of the manuscript suggests that these often referred to several days, perhaps more, in some cases. Braybrooke's first edition has three of these and his third includes nine. Another feature of the manuscript can be added to this. On thirty-three occasions there are entries where rather than making distinct daily entries, two, or sometimes three or four days are run on. The date appears in the margin at approximately the place the continuous narrative goes from one day to the next. It is quite clear that these entries were made at one time. None of these entries has an internal verbal cue to the fact that more than one day was written in at a time, but that would be entirely unnecessary given the appearance of the manuscript. The Latham-Matthews edition indicates these entries with an indented date (for example, <<23>>) at the place where it occurs beside the narrative in the journal. In all cases, except for two very particular examples,<sup>33</sup> Braybrooke has separated the entries into self-contained days, so that they look the same as all the other entries. In addition, therefore, to the one-hundred-and-fourteen verbal references to writing the journal, of which Braybrooke's first edition includes seven, there are thirty-three more quite clear examples of the method of composition, of which Braybrooke includes two special cases. That makes a total of nine out of one-hundred-and-forty-seven.

To a number of reviewers, one of the valuable aspects of Pepys's *Diary* was that it was an unselfconscious record. Yet Braybrooke omitted, through quite carefully sculpted excisions, as the above passages show, precisely the information which might have shown the text to be more

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<sup>33</sup>From the 8 July to 13 July, 1661 comprise a single short paragraph with all the dates (inclusive) it. The same thing occurs 16-19 July, 1661. Braybrooke includes these.

self-conscious, more aware of its own processes of composition, than reviewers took it to be. This is not just a matter of blocks of days being entered at one time, though obviously this is important, it is also a matter of quite simply omitting nearly all references to the act of writing.

This broad overall pattern of excision can be seen to be even more pervasive upon further investigation and indicates the degree to which Braybrooke was an interpreter of the manuscript. I suggested above that an awareness of the bias of his performance of the text seems to inform Braybrooke's statement that the *publication* is authentic. In Braybrooke's third edition there are eighteen references to writing the journal. Of these as many as *nine* - or half - occur in the final seven months of the *Diary*. In the whole text, the number of such references in the same amount of time (that is from November 1668 to the end of May 1669), is a mere seventeen out of one-hundred-and-fourteen. In other words, in the Braybrooke edition, fifty percent of the total number of internal references to writing the journal occur towards the end, as opposed to about six per cent in the Latham-Matthews text. Walter Scott trusted that in making his abridgment Braybrooke had preserved "the shape and appearance of the tree in its original state".<sup>34</sup> The disposition of internal references to writing, however, show this not to be the case.

Why did Braybrooke begin to allow these references into the last part of the text? Of those nine references occurring in the last seven months, *five* of them are directly associated with the trouble the writer expresses having with his eyes. That means that in Braybrooke's third and expanded edition, more than twenty-five per cent of all the internal references to writing the journal refer to Pepys's eyesight, whereas in the whole text they amount to six percent. Of course, the *Diary's* closing

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<sup>34</sup>Walter Scott, *Quarterly Review*, Vol 33. 1826. p.287



passage tells us that it was because of his eyes that the writer stopped writing: "And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my journall, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand...". With this in mind it is worth looking at the passages, as published in Braybrooke's third edition, which associate writing the journal with failing eyesight:

(16 February, 1669) ... and so to my Office, where busy all the afternoon, though my eyes mighty bad with the light of the candles last night, which was so great as to make my eyes sore all this day, and do teach me, by a manifest experiment, that it is only too much light that do make my eyes sore. Nevertheless, with the help of my tube, and being desirous of easing my mind of five or six days journall, I did venture to write it down from ever since this day se'nnight, and I think without hurting my eyes any more than they were before ...

(28 March, 1669) ... and so, that being done, and my journall writ, my eyes being very bad, and every day worse and worse, I fear ...

(  
11 April, 1669) ... So home, and to set down my Journal, with the help of my left eye through my tube, for fourteen days past; which is so much as, I hope, I shall not run in arrear again, but the badness of my eyes do force me to it.

(25 April, 1669) ... W. Howe came and dined with us; and then I to my Office, he being gone, to write down my Journal for the last twelve days; and did it with the help of my vizard and tube fixed to it, and do find it might manageable, but how helpful to my eyes this trial will show me.

(6 May, 1669) ... and so to my supper and to bed, my eyes being bad with writing my journal, part of it, tonight.

It appears as if Braybrooke's attention was drawn to these passages in the light of the *Diary's* end. Given both the small number of passages referring to writing the journal admitted to Braybrooke's editions, and that a large proportion of them occur towards the end and concern the writer's eyesight, it makes it look as if this is part of the text's winding down, and

as if lapses in daily writing *only* occur because of failing eyesight. The entry for 11 April, 1669 in particular suggests this kind of cause and effect and supports the contention that the journal was for the most part entered daily. Of course, there are other lapses scattered throughout Braybrooke's editions, but they are so rare as to seem only like exceptions which prove the rule. In the light of the insistence of Braybrooke and his reviewers that the *Diary* was written for Pepys's eyes only, this bias in the Braybrooke editions towards associating the increasing failure to keep the daily habit of writing with failing eyesight makes a strong connection with the final passage which states that now if he is to keep a journal, other eyes will have to do the writer's seeing and this will limit what he writes. This kind of bias gives the text an even stronger sense of closure than it otherwise has.

Another of the more subtle effects of Braybrooke's excisions can be seen from the omission of references to entering longer periods. The following passage, for example, is untypical of the view of the text Braybrooke expresses in his preface: it mentions entering the journal in the morning, rather than at the end of the day; it mentions entering three days at once; and rather than having been hastily thrown together, it mentions spending a considerable amount of time writing.

(24 February, 1668) Up, and to my office, where most of the morning entering my Journall for the three days past. Thence about noon with my wife to the New Exchange, by the way stopping at my bookseller's and there leaving my Kircher's *Musurgia* to be bound, and did buy *L'illustre Bassa* in four volumes for my wife. ...

Predictably enough, Braybrooke's editions begin with "At my bookseller's, and did buy *L'illustre Bassa* ...". By leaving out this reference to spending most of the morning writing the three past days, Braybrooke, at best,

inhibits the reader from seeing that the previous three days consist of quite long, detailed and fairly polished passages. The whole three days together consist of some two-thousand-three-hundred words. And in Braybrooke's third edition these three days are fairly complete.

A similar kind of thing happens at 10 November, 1663, which mentions sitting up late writing the previous day's entry. The entry for 9 November, 1663, the celebrated long conversation with Mr Blackburne, comprises some two-and-a-half thousand words. It is also very full in both Braybrooke's first and third editions, yet the *complete* entry for 10 November, 1663 in Braybrooke is as follows: "The Queene, I hear, is now very well again, and that she hath bespoke herself a new gown". Again, on 28 July, 1663 the opening under that day's date is: "Up, after sleeping very well; and so to my office, setting down the Journall of this last three days". Braybrooke completely omits this day. The previous three days run to nearly three-and-a-half-thousand words. Braybrooke's third prints about one-and-a-half-thousand words and the first edition about twelve hundred words. In all these examples, the text itself gives clues as to the length of time and the trouble taken in writing. If we consider this, it adds another, if subtle, layer of reflexivity to the text, a layer lost in Braybrooke's homogenised editions.

The passage of 24 February, 1668, which opens: "Up, and to my office, where most of the morning entering my Journall for the three days past" took, the narrator tells us, most of the morning to write. On 18 January, 1667, he mentions spending "most of the morning" finishing the episode relating to the Great Fire of the previous September. If writing the episode of the Great Fire, or the three previous days on 24 February, 1668, each took most of a morning, there is no reason to suppose that other similar passages of which there are many, did not also take this amount of



time to write, even if duration is not mentioned. There are forty-three references in the text to writing up between three and fourteen days at a time and fifty-one to unspecified periods. Moreover, there are periods when most of the daily entries are very long. For much of 1667, for example, a year which overall occupies far more space than any of the others, a majority of the entries are quite long. All must have taken time to write. Writing the journal must frequently have been far more time-consuming than Braybrooke's "reminiscences hastily thrown together" suggests. In a sense, Braybrooke's formulation, which diminishes the act of writing both in temporal terms and in terms of 'finish', encourages us to think of the journal as occurring outside the 'reality' it 'records'. To allow the possibility that writing the journal was itself a substantial part of daily experience, rather than outside it, would compromise the conditions under which it is seen to be real and objective.

By obliterating most of the text's internal references to having written-up several days, Braybrooke's editions divert readers' attention from the degree of effort and time spent on the journal. The effect of this is to miss the full impact of the journal's place in the narrator's life. On several occasions when he mentions spending some time writing, he also speaks about the pleasure of writing. For example, when he had spent most of the morning finishing the episode of the Great Fire on 18 January, 1667, he comments that "it did please me mightily when done". This episode can be seen as a conscious set-piece, one written from notes several months after the date of the events. We cannot be clear as to what aspect of the task gives rise to the expression of pleasure. It may simply be the result of getting the journal up to date. But it may also derive from pride in the achievement, from a recognition that he has written a coherent, exciting and vivid narrative. It seems in part to be a response to

the pleasure of performing a sustained piece of creativity. In several ways, the evidence of this particular episode can be extrapolated to some of the other passages mentioned above. On 17, July, 1667, for example, the narrator says: "Up, and to my chamber to set down my Journall of Sunday last with much pleasure". Three days had been entered. The Sunday (14 July, 1667) describes a trip to Epsom and contains the much-celebrated passage concerning a shepherd and his little boy, which John Drinkwater suggests is written in one of Pepys's "more exalted moods" and which "deserves a distinguished place in any anthology of English prose".<sup>35</sup> Both this and the episode of the Great Fire have been cited by reviewers since the first edition as pieces which stand out, so it is interesting that they both gave the narrator pleasure. In the episode of the shepherd and his boy under 14 July, the narrator says that it made him think of the "old age of the world" for "two or three days". Braybrooke's first edition omits this clue to retrospectivity, but his third edition includes it and leaves out the reference on 17 July, to writing the three days. But the journal introduces here an interesting bit of self-reflexive writing, one that hints at the tension I mentioned earlier between the *form* of daily entries and the actual process of composition.

In all of the above discussion I have been pointing to passages which show, in a variety of ways, the narrator's awareness of his own text,

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<sup>35</sup>John Drinkwater, *Pepys: His Life and Character* (William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1930), p.164. Drinkwater quotes a large portion of the passage, part of which reads as follows: "...W. Hewer and I walked upon the Downes, where a flock of sheep was, and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life; we find a shepheard and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him. So I made the boy read to me, which he did with the forced Tone that children do usually read, that was mighty pretty; and then I did give him something and went to the father and talked with him; and I find he had been a servant in my Cosen Pepys's house, and told me what was become of their old servants. He did content himself mightily in my liking his boy's reading and did bless God for him, the most like one of the old Patriarchs that ever I saw in my life, and it brought those thoughts of the old age of the world in my mind for two or three days after. ..." L-M, Vol 8, pp.338-339.

and what it tells us about its composition. Before moving on to consider another aspect of Braybrooke's editing, one last passage, whimsical to some degree, can be quoted to show how writing the journal was part of the narrator's life. The passage comes from the end of 16 March, 1666 and the beginning of 17 March, 1666.

[16 March] ...And so parted, and I to make good my Journall for two or three days, and begun it, till I came to the other side, where I have scrached so much, for, for want of sleep, I begun to write idle and from the purpose - so forced to break off, and to bed.

17. Up, and to finish my Journall, which I had not sense enough last night to make an end of - and thence to the office, where very busy all the morning....

Braybrooke's editions omit both the end of the first passage and the beginning of the next. It is again one of those passages where the life narrated and the form are in tension.

Braybrooke says in his original preface that the reader is not to expect "accuracy of style or finished composition" because the text is no more than "a collection of reminiscences hastily thrown together". The impression given here is close to what Francis Barker describes as what has been seen as "part of the charm" of the "discourse of the Navy Office clerk". Its "stylistic register" Barker suggests has been assimilated to a history of writing which classifies and validates its adherence to factuality as "not too verbose, barely literary".<sup>36</sup> Pepys it is often said "records" or "notes down" experiences. The brevity of the time between event and writing has been seen to be one aspect of 'noting down', almost like reporting events as they happen; brevity of expression was another of its features. Noting down, or recording, as I have already suggested, implies transcribing the already-ordered priorities of an 'objective reality'. But

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<sup>36</sup>Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body*, (Methuen, London, 1984) p.4.



what is 'recording' or 'noting down'? What are its minimum requirements? What level of detail represents recording, or noting down? Here the dilemma of logical positivism arises. If only objectively verifiable sensory data can be true, is there anything left but a few meaningless truths? At what point does recording, or noting down, in the terms of those who use such concepts, become descriptive, expressive, symbolically or metaphorically representational - in short, active signifying composition?

The illusion involved in the notion that any use of language is merely recording can be seen by making a few comparisons. After the second Dutch War in 1665 Pepys was implicated in charges brought against his patron Lord Sandwich who had illegally taken prize goods from a captured Dutch vessel. Careful to be prepared for any resulting trial, he wrote in a separate volume all related activities. In part, this consisted of making abstracts from his journal. If we compare the style of these with the journal itself, we get some idea of what it might have meant to the writer to 'record' information, or the bare facts. The abstract for 18 September, 1665 reads thus:

Come to Lord Sandwich. A council of war called. Bought some things of Cuttance and Pierce and Borrowed 55l. of W How to pay for them. To Chatham at night and by coach that night to Greenwich.

In Braybrooke's 1825 edition the entire entry for the previous day resembles this in its brevity:

To Gravesend in the Bezan Yacht, and there came to anchor for all night.

This is some four hundred words short of the entry in the whole text which describes drawing up a music scale, encountering Captain Cocke at

the barber's, going to church, and having dinner with Lord Brouncker. But Braybrooke has also considerably condensed the material so that it has the brevity of note-taking. The passage from which it is extracted<sup>37</sup>, reads as follows:

So everybody prepared himself for his Journy, and I walked to Woolwich to trim and shift myself; and by the time I was ready they came down in the *Bezan* Yacht, and so I aboard and my boy Tom. And there very merrily we sailed to below Gravesend, and there came to Anchor for all night and supped and talked, and with much pleasure settled ourselves to sleep - having very good lodging upon Cushions in the Cabbin.

As with Pepys's own abstract, Braybrooke has reduced this entry to the bare bones. The passage for the day from which Pepys has made his abstract is much fuller in Braybrooke's editions than the previous day. This is from Braybrooke's first and third editions for 18 September, 1665:

By break of day we come to within sight of the fleet, which was a very fine thing to behold, being above one hundred ships, great and small; with the flag ships of each squadron, distinguished by their several flags on their main, fore, or mizzen masts. Among others, the *Sovereigne*, *Charles*, and *Prince*; in the last of which my Lord Sandwich was. And so we came on board, and we find my Lord Sandwich newly up in his night-gown very well.

This is far more detailed than the preceding passages, but the full text expands into new areas of observation. After "in the last of which my Lord Sandwich was" and before "and so we came on board", we find this:

..When we called by her side, his Lordship was not stirring; so we came to anchor a little below his ship, thinking to have rowed on board him; but the wind and tide was so strong against us that we could not get up to him; no, though rowed by a boat of the *Prince's* that came to us to tow us up; at last, however, he brought us within a little way, and then they flung out a rope to us from the *Prince*, and so came on board, but with great trouble and time and

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<sup>37</sup> This is not a whole day's entry, but only half of the last paragraph.

patience, it being very cold. We find my Lord newly up in his night-gown very well.

Omitting that rather nice juxtaposition of the leisurely aspect of Sandwich and the difficulty of coming on board makes the writing almost naive in its matter-of-factness. Comparing these passages and the abstract made by Pepys throws a completely new light on the writing in the journal itself. Many of Braybrooke's entries, in the first edition in particular, are as brief as the one line entry quoted above, or that quoted earlier in this chapter from 10 November, 1663, also a single sentence entry. These are often interspersed with longer entries. But as the example of the 18 September, 1665 shows, these longer entries were trimmed of 'unnecessary' descriptions. In combination with the way the text is spoken about as a daily habit, hastily written, and unliterary, this kind of reductive editing which predominates in the first edition especially, obscures the expressive and descriptive qualities found in other passages. To connect this with the earlier part of my discussion, it is interesting to note that the relatively short quotation from the beginning of 18, September, 1665 also happens to come from a seven-day entry written in the late afternoon on 24 September, 1665. This passage is omitted in Braybrooke. What this passage tells us is that the kinds of descriptive details about coming on board Braybrooke cut out were written in the afternoon, six days later:

By and by to dinner about 3 a-clock. And then I in the cabin to writing down my journall for these *last seven days, to my great content* - it having pleased God that in this sad time of the plague, everything else hath conspired to my happiness and pleasure, more for these last three months then in all my life before in so little time. God preserve it, and make me thankful for it. After finishing my Journall, then to discourse and to read, and then to supper and to bed, my mind not being at full ease, having not fully satisfied



myself how Captain Cocke will deal with me as to the share of the profits.<sup>38</sup>(Emphasis mine.)

This is the last paragraph under the 24 September, 1665. From the manuscript it is vividly clear that the seven-day entry mentioned here runs from the last phrase of the very last sentence on 17 September, to "God preserve it, and make me thankful for it" in the above paragraph. The whole of the last sentence on 17 September, as printed in Latham-Matthews, reads: "And there very merrily we sailed to below Gravesend, and there came to Anchor for all night and supped and talked, and with much pleasure at last settled ourselves to sleep - having very good lodging upon Cushions in the Cabbin." The first part of this sentence is in a brown ink consistent through this and the previous two days. After the word "sleep", however there is a pyramid of three dots, which is represented by a dash in Latham Matthews and a comma in Braybrooke's third edition.<sup>39</sup> Including the pyramid, the ink changes dramatically to an almost black brown, which, together with a sharper pen, remains consistent through the seven days up to the end of the penultimate sentence of 24 September. The final sentence under that date - "After finishing my Journall, then to discourse..." - is again in a dramatically different ink-colour (lightish brown) which, together with the appearance and spacing of the script itself, is consistent with 25 and 26 September. One interesting feature of the disposition of the entries is that the last sentence of 17 September, to which the final phrase has been added at 24 September, was originally left unpunctuated. Some idea can be gained from this of different layers of possibility residing in the manuscript, which are available to interpretation and which are shaped by editors.

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<sup>38</sup>L-M, Vol.6. p. 240

<sup>39</sup>L-M, Vol.1, p.lxii

By using a dash, or a comma, before the last phrase of 17 September, the editors are silently making a judgment about the relationship between form and composition. This may seem a trivial point to make, and it may be objected that one does not make manifest the process of composition of a novel, or other forms of writing (although scholarly editions of novels do something like this in their apparatus). Novels, however, are written with the explicit intention of being published. The process of editing for publication and the fact of publication itself, can be regarded as the final stage in the production of the text. Bruce Arnold quotes an interesting letter from Richard Ellman to Charles Rossman concerning Hans Walter Gabler's edition of Joyce's *Ulysses* pointing out the importance of this process. The letter, dated 22 August, 1985, says: "That we are publishing an edition not as Joyce intended it to reach readers but as he wrote it, no doubt with many implicit ideas about changing it before publication, is really dismaying. I feel that Hans [Walter Gabler] has been most tendentious about this theory. If we wanted it as he wrote it, we would have a facsimile of the manuscripts - the use of print argues a different criteria".<sup>40</sup> With Pepys's *Diary* this is not the case. In the first place, no matter what the writer's final intentions in preserving the manuscript, its eventual publication was not (in fact) continuous with composition. Secondly, as I have been discussing, beliefs about the process of composition have been central to the way it has been constituted as a publication and to interpretation. Perceptions of the first edition hinged on these beliefs. Bringing other layers of the manuscript to the surface (which I have been doing in an incidental way) helps to highlight the extent to which publications can be

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<sup>40</sup>Bruce Arnold, *The Scandal of Ulysses*, (Sinclair-Stevenson, London, 1991) p. 152

regarded as performances of the text, leaving different emphases available to future performances.

William Matthews has mounted a very persuasive argument for seeing the manuscript as having five possible stages of composition. What I find interesting about this is the way it draws attention to the many traces of that process of composition as they are manifest in the manuscript. As well as pen and ink changes (which could never be interpreted with any certainty) this includes the writer's own references to writing the journal. As I have shown above, once these are taken fully into account, they begin to point to different ways of reading the text. They make us aware of passages which have been more consciously worked up, with expressions of pleasure on the part of the writer. They allow us to see these passages as episodic narratives. Secondly, once the existence of these layers are seen to exist, we can see publications of Pepys's *Diary* in a different light. Instead of seeing publication only as a matter of making the text manifest, we can see them as potential agents of repression.

Braybrooke's editions repressed far more than even his most critical readers guessed. The foregoing discussion illustrates how his performance of the text rigidified its structure by omitting most of the references which suggest that the journal was entered in ways other than "hastily" at the "end of each succeeding day". His editions reduce the text's complexity and particularly the tension which the writer himself makes visible, between the appearance of daily entries and actual practice. The overall appearance of Braybrooke's editions, in terms of the strict separation of passages under daily dates, gives the text a greater homogeneity than we find in the manuscript.



In the Introduction, I discussed both Raymond Williams's and Stephen Bann's perception that over the period from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, there was a new correlation between 'factuality' and the suppression of writing as "active signifying composition". In Bann's terms *vérité*, life-like 'representation', as opposed to classic notions of representation, *vraisemblance*, required the illusion of extinguishing the gap between signifier and signified. In the first edition Braybrooke included a negligible number of internal references to writing the journal (about six per cent) and in the third edition, he still only included enough (about fifteen percent) to make it look as if the writer only rarely slipped up and wrote more than a day at a time. Braybrooke's editions omitted unspecific references to writing the journal, they omitted references to writing up more than one day, they omitted references to writing in the morning rather than at night, and they 'normalised' run-on entries. As a result of these omissions, the complexity and variety of composition, the time spent writing the journal, and its elements of self-reflexivity became submerged features. Braybrooke's original statement that the journal was written at the end of the day, that it was hastily thrown together a day at a time, and that it did not represent "accuracy of style or finished composition" were supported by the nature of his performance.

H. Porter Abbott observes in relation to diary fiction that "in purporting to give the truth of a real, not an invented, consciousness, the diary strategy favours a conception of the real as artless, and thus, in a familiar paradox, it has become a formal attribute of the absence of form".<sup>41</sup> The key, then, to the reality of a 'real diary' is its artlessness,

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<sup>41</sup> H. Porter Abbott, *Diary Fiction: Writing as Action*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1984.) pp.18-19.

which means an absence of literariness, or writerly self-consciousness. The pattern of Braybrooke's excisions intensifies the text's artlessness. For Braybrooke to have included sections of the text where the narrator talks about his own writing would have robbed it of one aspect of its seeming artlessness. Describing Pepys's *Diary* as artless, which is what Braybrooke does in his preface, is a way of formulating, at the level of consciousness, what is, deeper down, an attempt to disguise its textuality, its active signifying composition, in order to see it as authentic and factual. The fact of writing has to be obliterated. But this still leaves open the larger question as to why artlessness (or the appearance of artlessness) is so valued and associated with realism.

## II.

Two reviews of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* can be discussed in some detail with regard to why artlessness was so valued - "Manners of the Court of Charles II", appearing in the *London Magazine* in January, 1826, and Sir Walter Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary* the leading article for Volume 33 of the *Quarterly Review*, 1826. The similarities between these articles are worth noting, especially since the *London Magazine* article carries an unfavourable comparison of Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* with Pepys's *Diary* and, as mentioned in chapter two, after the appearance of Scott's review, Charles Barker mounted a hostile attack in the *London Magazine* on both Scott and the *Quarterly* for cashing in on the popularity of Pepys's *Diary*.

Yet, despite some political differences between them, the two articles I wish to discuss here resemble each other to a remarkable degree in their opening meditations on how the integrity of subjective experience

-and therefore truth - might best be preserved in writing. Opening "Manners of the Court of Charles II" the writer suggests that both history and biography have been deficient in supplying us with knowledge of the true state of society in the past - history, because it is not interested in descending to the minutiae of life, biography, because it is only interested in the great, who are not "fair samples of the community".<sup>42</sup> What follows this suggests that consciousness in writing distorts the "truth" of representation:

There are doubtless works extant, whose especial purpose it is to describe the manners of particular periods; but the very efforts and ambitions of authorship are unfavourable to the attainment of their object. Their representations are involuntarily coloured by the temper and genius of the writer. It must also be remembered that, that the writer, having it in view to amuse, or astonish, or instruct, selects only such incidents as are directed to the particular end of his writing. The view he presents of society is necessarily partial.

Throughout this article the words "writer", "author" and "authorship" have a special meaning. Authorship in the fullest sense in which it is used in this quotation is a conscious act of writing, presumably 'professional'. Because it is other-directed, written for an audience, it is therefore inherently motivated by the desire for effect. Old letters, the article continues, might provide a better source of historical information since they are "wholly for the information of correspondents" and therefore "not subject to the imputations under which authorship must always lie". Again, here, authorship seems to imply writing for a public. Letter-writing comes a step closer to providing true information because its audience is limited. Peeling away the distorting layers of audience, the writer comes to the conclusion that it is only when a person writes for him

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<sup>42</sup>"Manners of the Court of Charles II", *London Magazine*, Vol.14, January, 1826. p.105, hereafter referred to as "Manners".



or herself that we can trust it as true. We discover, a page later, that this theoretical exposition is designed to provide a framework in which Pepys's *Diary* can be positioned. Two main questions are set up: first, where is it that information about the state of past societies can be found (in what form of writing) and secondly, what is the position in society occupied by the person supplying the information? The answer to the second question, is that he or she should come from the middling ranks. I mentioned the last chapter that this article quite explicitly states that a true perspective on society can only be gained from somewhere between the extremes of king and peasant. The emphasis in this and in Barker's later attack on the *Quarterly Review* and on Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary* is anti-aristocratic. Barker claims that Scott's Toryism excuses the obvious corruption and profligacy of Charles II's court, as shown in Pepys's *Diary*.

The information in the historical source, the article says, should be miscellaneous and on a variety of subjects - "domestic and public matters, amusements, fashions, frivolities - town and country gossip". As I will point out again below, the theoretical keynote of this article is the way it opposes two kinds of writing, one whose function is empirical and pseudo-classificatory (that is, it appears merely to sort levels of fact), a matter of 'information gathering', and therefore true, the other which is self-conscious, highly coloured, descriptive, expressive, and always open to distortion. Part of the rhetorical strategy this and other articles employ to distinguish factual writing from other types of writing - what I call the rhetoric of objectivity - is to classify, in advance, the kind of material factual writing embodies, as 'information'.

Having outlined in the passage quoted above, the compromises of a *grand mal* - professional public "authorship" - the article goes on to delineate a *petit mal*, what it calls the "evils of authorship in a minor

degree", that is, interpersonal authorship rather than public authorship. This evil can arise even where the kind of information we desire has been written "to some friend at a distance from the scene of affairs". Although this kind of intelligence comes close to having an "authentic shape" there still exists, simply on the basis of there being an addressee, "a temptation to be witty or humorous, *at the expense of truth*; to misrepresent or miscolour; and, above all, to be fastidious in the selection of articles of news from a fear of being found guilty of tediousness". (Emphasis mine.) Between friends, the risk of distortion is lessened, but there is still the desire on the part of the writer to create an impression. "Authentic shape" here seems to mean something close to an imitation of objective reality itself in a specific sense. The argument seems to be that 'information' or 'intelligence' represents an order of factuality just out there to be gathered, and that stripping away the evils of authorship will enable a kind of writing capable of rendering that information in an undistorted, and therefore, authentic shape. The employment of the concept of authenticity here is similar to Braybrooke's use of it in his original preface where he says that the publication can be "relied upon for the authenticity of its statements". Authenticity in both cases has to do with the relationship of the information to objective truth. According to the *London Magazine*, despite the many evils of authorship, such an authentic shape can be achieved:

Suppose a person in the habit of noting down, as briefly as possible, everything that befel him during the day - as what he had seen, done, said, or heard in the course of business or amusement, solely for the sake of having a Journal, in which he might, at any subsequent period, be able to tell precisely what he was engaged with, and what were his habits and feelings at that particular epoch, and we should have the most perfect transcript of the times that could be made. Here would not be the slightest inducement to embellish or suppress. The writer's object being his own

information, he would not suppress anything necessary to be known, for that would defeat his object.

The perfect conveyor of information is one who is no more than the cipher of reality, and who therefore not only catches that reality in its authentic shape, but in its fulness, because he or she will write everything. In this passage we see the elaboration of a number of Braybrooke's key concepts. As with Braybrooke's preface, at every point in this quotation, the language employed extinguishes the fact of writing as *active signifying composition*. The ideal embodiment of reality results from a "habit", a reflex, not from writing as conscious agency. It is a matter of "noting down", that familiar conception of Pepys's writing as somehow received, rather than actively created. It is brief - as brief as possible - because it is factual. To be more than brief would introduce the possibility of adornment and distortion. Yet also because of this, which represents a kind of perceptual attitude, it registers everything. And, in what is a rather odd concept, it is "solely for the sake of having a Journal". Again, the active process of writing and any actual *desire* to write is effaced by the idea that keeping a journal is somehow itself merely a habit, a reflex response, or even an incidental activity. To introduce the idea that someone may be motivated by a desire to write would introduce the possibility of a desire to *mis* represent as authors do. Artlessness requires a kind of unconsciousness. Put all of this together and the result is a "perfect transcript of the times".

As with the above statement, the conclusion to the opening section of the article contains what is, in the light of the publication under review, a deep irony:

Such a narrative [as has been described above] comprises every advantage that can be looked for in a memoir of the age - an



abstract or chronicle of the fleeting manners and customs of mankind; *fulness, minuteness, veracity*; at least no intentional misrepresentation, and no false colouring, superinduced by a desire of pleasing, of being wise or witty, or by any other motive. The narrative, to be perfectly trustworthy, *must bear in itself the evidence of its design* as intended solely for the writer's own eye; for if there be visible an intention of publishing, or even of communicating it to one or more, its authority is impaired.<sup>43</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

In the light of the idea that a desire to please causes misrepresentation and false colouring, we might ask what this reviewer would have made of the pleasure expressed in Pepys's *Diary*, several months after the event, at having written the narrative of the Great Fire. But we could never know the answer to this since Braybrooke's first edition omitted the reference. While the internal evidence required to guarantee trustworthiness is, significantly, that it was written for no other eyes than those of the writer, we could also ask what the reviewer would have thought if Braybrooke's publication bore *all* the evidence of its design in some of the terms in which I discussed it in the first section of this chapter.

There is an absoluteness in this article about the conditions under which veracity can exist. What is most significant, I think, in what it says about writing and truth, is that first, *representation*, that is writing directed towards a readership, is necessarily compromised, but secondly, such a thing as objective truth, authenticity, does actually exist and can be tapped if the evils attendant upon the desire to represent are stripped away. This leads to what may seem to be a paradoxical situation which is worth hammering out because it helps explain early interpretations of Pepys's *Diary*. From our own perspective, when all writing is seen as representation, rather than as a transcription of an objective reality, we might ask why this article separates self-directed writing from other forms

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<sup>43</sup>*ibid.* p.108

of written representation. If we put it in the writer's own terms, why is this form of writing less 'distorted' than anything else? But if we look at the context of this idea, we can see that self-deception is a risk, if that self intrudes any actual motivation to write. Other-directed writing is automatically *misrepresentational*. Self-writing has the chance of being authentic as long as it can be seen merely to record the facts, unconsciously, out of a reflex habit; as long as the writing self through completely suppressing its own motives and desires, becomes a transparent cipher of the world. In a sense, this view is both a product of and a reaction against the Romantic expressive self. It is a product of it in so far as authenticity can only proceed from individual experience. It is a reaction against it in that it attempts to postulate both the existence of an objective reality and the means of access to it which requires a kind of self-extinction. These two selves conform to Williams's distinction between factual writing and fictional writing, where the former is based on the repetition and replication of 'information' in writing which hides itself as writing. So this article implies that *any* motivation or desire actively to write may misrepresent truth, even in self-communing. For that reason, the writer uses a battery of terms which efface the fact of writing as active signification. Perhaps only Braybrooke's first edition could fulfil this reviewer's requirements. Following the last sentence in the above quotation, the writer declares that "a curiosity of this kind, perhaps, never existed in the world till the publication of the Diary of Mr. Pepys".<sup>44</sup>

At the beginning of this chapter I indicated that Macaulay's fear that Pepys's *Diary* might be a forgery is proportional to his regard for the text as one of the "highest authority". I then asked what would be at stake if it were found to be a forgery. The *London Magazine* goes some way to

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<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

addressing that question. For Macaulay, the authority of the text, at the manifest level, lies in the information it provides for his history. But information cannot be separated from the way it is embodied. As the "Manners of the Court of Charles II" suggests, after its long introductory discussion on the distortions attendant upon authorship, the truth of a memoir, its "authority" as a conveyor of information, would be compromised if it bore even the smallest signs of being written for any eyes other than those of the writer. So, in this way "authority" and "authenticity", are closely aligned. Authority arises out of authenticity and both are related to the registering of information.

Walter Scott similarly opens his review by setting up a framework within which the truth of Pepys's *Diary* may be accepted. As with the "Manners of the Court of Charles II" he makes a slow approach to the text. Earlier in this study I suggested that as a new kind of publication, Pepys's *Diary* had to be defined as a piece of writing. These two reviews, with their discursive introductions, are examples of that process of definition.

Scott's opening paragraph employs what was by now a commonplace - we can learn more about public figures by viewing them in their private moments. "We are not satisfied", he says, "with what we see and hear of the conqueror on the field of battle, or the great statesman in the senate; we desire to have the privilege of the valet-de-chambre, to follow the politician into his dressing closet, and to see the hero in those private relations where he is a hero no longer".<sup>45</sup> As with "Manners of the Court of Charles II" Scott's search for the best embodiment of historical information moves to a consideration of letter writing. But letters "exhibit the writers less as they *really* are, than as they *desire* their friends should

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<sup>45</sup> Walter Scott, "Pepys's Memoirs", *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 33, 1826. p.281, hereafter referred to as "Scott".



believe them to be". As with the previous article, are seen to be motivated by a desire to represent. Giving the example of Pope, Scott suggests that the discrepancy between what is written in letters and the real character of the writer is greater with one eye on publication. Ultimately, he believes, "little reliance can be placed on the sincerity of letter writers in general". Scott implies that the need to keep up appearances compromises the sincerity of letters. What this seems to suggest is that the *real* self is essentially in conflict with the social world because, for the sake of appearances, it cannot afford to represent itself in a way which is congruent with true feelings. In a more general and perhaps less generous way, the *London Magazine* categorised this as one of the evils of authorship, seeking effect over the communication of truth. But what each of them implies is that public expression is always and necessarily disconnected from personal reality, that even if they take different forms, there can be no continuity between them, and that personal reality is a core truth.

Furthermore, because public expression, or other-directed expression, can never be entirely sincere in this formulation, it is devalued in epistemological terms. "In private Diaries", Scott suggests, "we come several steps nearer the reality of a man's sentiments". But this is only true if we can be sure that the diary was neither intended to be read by anyone other than the writer, nor published. The key to sincerity is self-communing, and as proof of this, Scott says, documents written under such conditions frequently contain much that is "discreditable to the writers". There is an ambivalence in Scott's considerations not found in the *London Magazine*. While both agree that writing for any kind of audience precludes absolute truth and sincerity by striving for effect, Scott clearly values appearances. He may value the self-communing of others

in writing, but he seems to fear self-exposure. There is some tension in Scott's discussion between an epistemological paradigm, whereby public utterance is essentially insincere, and a 'moral' consideration of what it is proper to expose.

Nevertheless, at the end of his opening discussion Scott closes in on Pepys's *Diary* in a statement which is almost identical to that ending the opening discussion in the *London Magazine*. He concludes, "If there is any one to whom we can ascribe perfect good faith in the composition of his diary, it is certainly the author of that which lies before us".<sup>46</sup> Both articles make the purpose of their opening remarks clear at this point - the affirmation of the text's "trustworthiness" based on the opening discussion which attempts to align truth and sincerity, not only with a particular *form* of writing, but with a particular *process* of writing, that is writing which is self-communing, rather than other-directed.

Two aspects of Pepys's *Diary* confirm Scott's trust: first, Pepys had no reason *not* to be scrupulously honest ("no crimes to conceal, and no very important vices to apologize for"); and secondly, "his diary was written in a peculiar shorthand or cipher". He applies his notion that all public expression compromises and masks the true self to Pepys himself, at the very end of the review, when he suggests that the reader may like to compare Pepys's letters with his diary: "The reader may be amused with comparing the style of Pepys and his sentiments as brushed and dressed, and sent out to meet company, with his *more genuine* and far *more natural* effusions of a night-gown and slipper description". (Emphasis mine.) "Genuine" and "natural" in conjunction imply a more radically sceptical view of dissimulation than Pepys himself might have held.

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<sup>46</sup> "Scott" p.283.

Both reviews devote a lot of space to the opening discussion which attempts to distinguish between the values of different kinds of writing. Both attempt to define a framework for accepting this new publication, in terms which relate genres (letter-writing, memoirs, history proper) to ideas of subjectivity, truth and authenticity. What we see are examples of what Raymond Williams called the attempt to redraw the boundaries between written forms where factual or practical writing is defined against the fictional or imaginative. Part of this process of defining boundaries can be seen in the way both reviews position the *Diary* before discussing its contents. This also says something about the dynamic role of the text itself in the creation of these new boundaries. Operating within the same paradigms, and for the purposes of having his published text accepted as authentic, Braybrooke was similarly drawing boundaries between factual or practical writing and fictional or imaginative writing both in his prefatory comments and in the form of his first edition.

Francis Jeffrey was probably the first to come close to equating Pepys the man with the text. The conclusion to his review in the *Edinburgh Review* suggests that "reading this book seems to us to be quite as good as living with Mr. Samuel Pepys in his proper person". Jeffrey goes on to say that while the court may be "detailed with more grace and vivacity in the Memoires de Grammont" even this subject is "treated with far greater fidelity and fairness" in Pepys's *Diary*. Jeffrey, like Scott, tends to view the text from a position of moral superiority, and this reinforces the notion that while appearances may not represent the true self, they are nevertheless necessary to dignity.

I have been describing a broad framework in which different kinds of writing are distinguished for their ability to render objective reality. There is a clear correlation between Braybrooke's first edition and the



attitudes of reviewers with regard to the authenticity of factual writing. But within that broad framework, different reviewers employed the fact/fiction distinction for different ends. The *Retrospective Review*, for example, used it as a political and moral stick to beat those who failed to give full weight to the profligacy and moral degeneracy of Charles II's court. The *Mémoires de Grammont* "adorn profligacy, and communicate the charm of elegance to that which was, in fact, mere heartless debauchery, and worse brutality."<sup>47</sup> And, the writer continues, "the author of *Waverley*, at this day, appears bent upon perpetuating and even augmenting the delusion [for] he has drawn a picture of Charles II *en couleur de rose*; and discountenanced virtue by recommending vice". Grammont and Scott do precisely what the reviewer in the *London Magazine* criticises - they give an impression as they desire it to appear. In contrast to the "fictions of these writers" the diaries of Evelyn and Pepys contain "the realities". The remainder of the article, which is designed to use these diaries to undermine the pretensions of great personages in the time of Charles II, gravitates more and more towards an exclusive use of Pepys's *Diary*. Towards the end the article uses Pepys's text to throw light on the character of Clarendon and, after a quotation from it, concludes that "The whole history of Clarendon's administration, as written by David Hume, teaches not so much as this single passage of an obscure and ill-written dairy".<sup>48</sup> At one level, fact and fiction in this article are only distinguished according to preferred readings of the past. But there is a shared language with the two articles discussed above, whereby fiction is representational, coloured and seeks effect, while an "ill-written diary" -

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<sup>47</sup> *Retrospective Review*, Vol XIII, 1826, p.168.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.* p.179

that is, in opposition to Grammont and Scott, writing which is unliterary - conveys the truth.

Later in the century Scott's review was quoted for the doubts it expressed concerning Braybrooke's abridgment. But Scott's emphasis on the relationship between the text's self-communing and its reliability suggest that, as Braybrooke's preface itself hints, the first publication needed to establish its credentials. At the very least, most of the first reviews indirectly indicate a concern over authenticity by stressing the relationship between privacy and truth, and 'unconsciousness' and truth. Both the reviews discussed above imply that self-consciousness in writing (other-directed writing and the striving for effect) leads to distortion.

Ideas about the authenticity of Pepys's *Diary* are often expressed in terms of a comparison with Evelyn. Colburn's journal, the *New Monthly Magazine*, suggests that Pepys should be placed on an intellectual level "far below that of Evelyn".<sup>49</sup> But it is implied that Evelyn's intellect operates as an intervention between reality and text, because in Pepys's case "a higher order of intellect and feeling would have spoiled his work, and caused it to be a less faithful mirror of the age". This is a revealing statement in terms of the way Braybrooke's first edition exaggerated those elements of the text which could be taken as artless. So, as the writing becomes less self-conscious, it also becomes less visible as writing, more transparent and closer to a faithful mirror of the age. What this suggests, of course, is that such a reified thing as an 'age' exists and can be mirrored. Going back to the earlier discussion about the differences between *vraisemblance* and *vérité*, it can be seen here that mirroring reality is the ideal of the latter. Writing as visible representation has been extinguished, except in so far as it exists as a mirror. We can see from a

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<sup>49</sup> *ibid.* p.100

statement like this why it might have been necessary for Braybrooke carefully to pare from the text those giveaway statements like, "Up early to write down my last two day observations", or "Up, and to my chamber to set down my Journall of Sunday last with much pleasure..", because they imply the presence of the activity of writing, of the act of representation and of pleasure.

The *Monthly Review* also compared Evelyn and Pepys suggesting that it is instructive to compare the two diaries for their accounts of the same events. This reviewer calls Evelyn a "highly literary character, telling us what he did, and thus making a *partial mirror* of the age".<sup>50</sup> (Emphasis mine.) But Pepys, unlike Evelyn who wrote for posterity, wrote only "for his own remembrance". What he produced was an "account not only of all he did, but of all he said and heard". Consequently Pepys "preserved as perfectly as it can be done, 'the abstract and brief chronicle of the times'". The language here once again serves to imply a contrast between 'literariness', self-consciousness, and a *partial* rendering of reality on the one hand, and on the other, the transcription of reality represented in words like 'preserved'.

Francis Jeffrey was another who considered Evelyn's *Diary* inferior to that of Pepys "in interest, curiosity, and substantial instruction" despite the fact that Evelyn was "indisputably more of a gentleman, a scholar, and a man of taste" than Pepys.<sup>51</sup> Scott compares the two diarists over several pages of his review and quotes passages from Evelyn. "Pepys", he claims "did not aspire at quite so high a strain of moral feeling as is expressed by Evelyn".<sup>52</sup> But some twenty-five pages later, Scott concludes that Pepys's *Diary* is rich "in every species of information concerning the author's

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<sup>50</sup>*Monthly Review* Vol CVII, 1825. p.210.

<sup>51</sup>*Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 43, 1825. p.50

<sup>52</sup>"Scott", p.290



century" and that when compared with Evelyn's *Diary*, "it is as much superior to the latter in variety and general amusement, as it is inferior in its tone of sentiment and feeling".<sup>53</sup>

In the middle of the century, comparisons between Evelyn and Pepys continued to be made, though by this time the evaluations had changed slightly. *Blackwood's Magazine* ran a somewhat lightweight article called "Evelyn and Pepys" in which the two diarists have become polarised. Pepys is "the most frank and unreserved of autobiographers", Evelyn, "the most courtly and polished of antique gentlemen". Pepys "unfolds his brisk panorama", Evelyn "solemnly exhibits his stately picture".<sup>54</sup> For many commentators in the nineteenth century, the edge of truth and fidelity Pepys has over Evelyn is a result of what their intentions were perceived to be. Evelyn wrote for posterity, Pepys wrote for himself. Evelyn wrote retrospectively and from notes, Pepys wrote immediately at the end of each day. So although Evelyn was an honest and virtuous man - more so than Pepys - his writing was compromised by being addressed beyond himself, and by maintaining a dignified appearance. For the *Atheneum* the great advantage Pepys has over Evelyn is that the *Diary* of the former contains the "actual entries of the several days" whereas the latter's "is an after compilation" and lacking in freshness.<sup>55</sup> In all these comments, whether direct or oblique, Pepys's *Diary* is spoken of as closer to reality, like a series of snapshots, because the reality it mirrors has not been reflected upon, and because it was not written for an audience.

These comparisons between Evelyn and Pepys support my contention that the view of Pepys's *Diary* as artless fostered by

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<sup>53</sup>"Scott", p.314.

<sup>54</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine*, printed in *Living Age*, Vol 42, 1854. p.291.

<sup>55</sup> *Atheneum* No.1080, 8 July, 1848. p.669.

Braybrooke's editing was very much in accordance with a prevailing view that immediacy and 'unconsciousness' in writing rendered truth and mirrored reality. By reducing the self-reflexive and 'literary' elements of the text, Braybrooke was increasing the chances of his readership conferring authenticity on it. Nearly all the first reviews agreed that Evelyn was probably a better person than Pepys, but they all equally agreed that Evelyn's *Diary* was inferior because it was retrospective, because it was written for posterity, and because Evelyn's literariness refracted, rather than mirrored reality.

Publications of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century intersect with another history, which can be called the history of private life. I can only represent this fairly schematically here, but it is a subject which comes up again in my conclusion. Underlying much of the commentary on Pepys's *Diary* through the nineteenth century is the idea - clearly part of Scott's comments - that no-one would dare write what Pepys wrote *except* under conditions of complete privacy and secrecy. The *Westminster Review* suggests that Pepys would have "quailed at the thought of exposing to the public view the secrets of his domestic and official life".<sup>56</sup> So far, I have discussed the imputed secrecy of the text in terms of attempts to classify the document as authentic, and realistic, because uncompromised by any intention to publish. But another way of understanding this is in terms of what Richard Sennett calls the emergence, in the nineteenth century, of personality in public. As a result of changing material conditions, "a new secular world-view appeared in society as a whole",<sup>57</sup> and the old "Order of Nature" was replaced by "an ordering of natural phenomena". Sennett argues that, whereas in the

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<sup>56</sup>*Westminster Review*, Vol.4, July-October, 1825. p.411.

<sup>57</sup>Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, (Cambridge University Press, London, 1974 and 1976.) p.150

eighteenth century the "Order of Nature" assumed that natural character was humankind's "common thread", in accordance with which one's actions and desires could be moderated, personality, which in the nineteenth century became "the way to think about the meaning implicit in human life", changes from person to person.

The thesis of Sennett's book is that the emergence of personality went hand in hand with the devaluation of public life and codes of sociability. Lionel Trilling discusses a similar history in *Sincerity and Authenticity*, with the erosion of the kind of "credence that could formerly be given to material and social establishment".<sup>58</sup> Public and private realms underwent a change in balance. It was not that the eighteenth century did not distinguish between public and private life, but that public life, through shared codes of belief, could still allow people meaningful interactions. Public and private were different realms of being in the eighteenth century, contiguous, rather than in conflict, as in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century the codes of belief allowing meaningful public interaction were eroded as part of the development of industrial capitalism. In reviews of Pepys's *Diary* we can see elements of this process in the way that public life and public expression are always deflated and emptied of anything but ironic meaning by the greater truth of private life (and its ideal in writing - self-communing). The end point of this process, in the twentieth century, Trilling claims, is that "much that was once thought to make up the very fabric of culture has come to seem of little account, mere fantasy or ritual, or downright falsification".<sup>59</sup> The big push to the change from eighteenth century codes of sociability, to personality, was, as with views about history itself, the French Revolution.

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<sup>58</sup> Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1972) p.41.

<sup>59</sup>*ibid.* p.11



It is a process occurring around the time of the publication of Pepys's *Diary*, with perhaps some extreme, historically localised, results.

Personality meant the constant attempt to make feeling and avowal congruent. In Sennett's terms this means always exposing the attempt to feel, rather than acting on what has been felt in private. Being true to the self, also means being expressive of one's inner nature. So appearances reveal the inner self, in a way that is quite different from eighteenth-century self-presentation. "Personality", Sennett writes, varies among people, and is unstable within each person, because appearances have no distance from impulse; they are direct expressions of the 'inner' self".<sup>60</sup> This is an important point to grasp in terms of understanding reactions to Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century, because it helps explain why it was crucial to see a link between the text's privacy of composition and its "authenticity" in both sense of the word - as a genuine document, and, in one of its nineteenth-century uses, as a real picture of the past. For, as Sennett later points out in relation to attitudes to clothing and personality, if personality expresses "inner" nature, a whole new set of risks are involved. If appearances express the inner self then that inner self is always open to being read. And in an increasingly anonymous world, that is undesirable. Under such beliefs about the meaning of personality, it is no longer possible to maintain control over appearances. One can always give oneself away, reveal oneself, without knowing it. Leigh Hunt points this out in a review of John Smith's edition of Pepys's other (Tangier) diary in 1841. "Concealment", he claims "itself becomes a form of disclosure. The moment a man begins speaking of himself, however prudently he thinks he is going to do it ... *a discerning reader* may be pretty sure of seeing into the real nature of his character and proceedings".

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<sup>60</sup>Richard Sennett, p.153.

(Emphasis mine.) Later he says that "the writer betrays himself when he least expects it".<sup>61</sup>

This may seem to contradict some of what we have encountered in the *Monthly Magazine's* and in Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary*, where public appearances are seen to conceal the true expression. It may be, however, that this forms part of a reaction against the new mode of personality, while at the same time endorsing it. Part of the emergence of personality in public, as it has been described, was the simultaneous erosion of beliefs which fostered public codes of expression. So the two articles endorse the new idea of personality because they suggest that public appearances (in the form of other-directed writing) amount to no more than meaningless (truth-distorting) posturing, when compared with self-communing. Self-communing, in other words, does not put social demands in the way of pure self-expression. Pepys's *Diary* remains uncompromised in this way.

But from another angle, this same response may be seen as an attempt to shore up the risk of involuntary self-exposure by attempting to place limits on the conditions under which it will occur. This can be argued from a response to Pepys's *Diary*. Few would want to be exposed in the way Pepys exposes himself, this argument might go, so seeing the "reality of a man's sentiments", as Scott put it, can only occur under hermetically-sealed privacy. This way, the realm of appearances can be preserved for propriety and for masks. The fear behind all of this is Leigh Hunt's proto-Freudian notion that the attempt to conceal will reveal true feelings to the attentive reader.

This idea can be pushed a step further with regard to the early reviews of Pepys's *Diary* with their insistence on secrecy and artlessness.

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<sup>61</sup>Leigh Hunt, *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 74. October, 1841. p.106.

As I discussed in the last chapter, Samuel Johnson's notions of human character as containing a common thread are a-historical. If humans are everywhere essentially the same, then human character, so described, provides an objective measure of reality. As Johnson suggests, by describing private and domestic life, which occupies most of everyone's life, readers can immediately identify. But if what upholds that uniformitarian belief is lost, and if personality is seen to vary from person to person, then access to that form of objectivity (a shared nature, identifiable as such) is also lost. Without creating new conditions of objectivity, there will be a retreat into solipsism, which is always a risk. How can objective truth be guaranteed? By making the inner self the locus of truth, the external world can only be verified by the individual, since there is no longer any shared code to appeal to. Experience and the eye-witness account are important here, and this dimension of the emergence of personality I will discuss in the next chapter with regard to historicism. But the uniqueness of personality creates problems of intelligibility in the way that a belief in common human nature does not. What seems to be created from this dilemma, is a complex *rhetoric* of objectivity, means by which an objective realm can be represented as existing beyond variations in personality. Where individual imagination and the evidence of personal experience are valued, in the way they had begun to be in the early nineteenth century, there have to be ways of distinguishing fact from fiction. What I call here the rhetoric of objectivity is not a fixed code or set of signals which provide access to 'objective reality', though it has its own conventions, as I have shown above, with words that affirm the existence of an objective reality like 'information'. It also includes the constant need to confirm the means of access to objective reality. So, for example, Pepys's *Diary* provides 'information' and



factuality, and this implies the existence of an objective reality to be tapped into, but at the same time it 'records' this reality. And there is a cluster of other concepts which support the notion of recording - immediacy of composition, brevity of expression, lack of literariness, and so on.

### III.

To finish this chapter I want to go back to the original question about authenticity and forgery. Authenticity emerges from early nineteenth-century writing as a flexible and capacious word. It did not just mean whether or not a document was what it purported to be - though it primarily meant that - it referred to the accuracy of representing reality and, at the same time, it meant the integrity of individual experience.

Some clues about ideas of authenticity obtaining in the early nineteenth century can be gained from looking at three successive articles in the last number of the *Quarterly Review* for 1832. In it, the fifth article is a review written by J.G. Lockhart of a historical novel *Zohrab the Hostage* (pages 391-420), the sixth article is a review written by H.H. Milman of *The History of Charlemagne*, by G.P.R. James (pages 421-455) and the seventh article is a review by J.W. Croker of the fake *Mémoires de Louis XVIII*, (pages 455-480). All three articles have history as their common denominator and when read together evince shared structures of thought about history. Each article also attempts to negotiate the text under review in terms of its relationship to current ideas about history. As well as that, each text is viewed comparatively in terms of other historical forms of writing. *Zohrab the Hostage*, for example, set in Iran, is compared favourably for its accuracy with Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia* :

...a man may read Sir John Malcolm's History, with its rich appendix of dissertations on Persian life, manners, law, and religion one day, and the novel now before us the next, without being able to lay his finger on any striking incongruity. Passing over a few avowed perversions of the actual course of public events within the last half century, there is, perhaps, nothing in the work of fiction, which the student of the History is entitled to say *could not have been*..<sup>62</sup>

Here fiction is compared with history proper. In the review of James's *History of Charlemagne* comparisons are made with other historians who have dealt with the "age of Charlemagne": Guizot, Hallam, Gibbon and Sismondi, the first three of whom are criticised, in terms which reveal a great deal about the writer's historical values, for they give "Philosophic commentaries on the history of Charlemagne's reign rather than its history".<sup>63</sup> But it is also compared both favourably and unfavourable with historical novels. James is accused on the one hand of displaying the kind of "haste and incorrectness which might be excused in imitations of the Waverley romances, but which should not be permitted to disfigure pages claiming the graver name of history". On the other hand, James's history would benefit from a "more picturesque grouping" of scenes and greater "vividness of description" so that the reviewer regrets that the "hand of the novelist had not been called in to give the last enlivening touch to the design".<sup>64</sup> Prior to this, the reviewer theorises about how the actions of historical figures cannot be properly understood unless they are contextualised by a characterisation of the state of society of their time. So

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<sup>62</sup> John Lockhart, "Zohrab the Hostage", *Quarterly Review*, Vol.XLVIII, no. XCVI, December, 1832, p.393

<sup>63</sup> H.H. Milman, "The History of Charlemagne", *Quarterly Review*, Vol.XLVIII, no.XCVI, December, 1832. p.426

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* p.428.

in both these articles the books under review are defined against other texts which nevertheless occupy the larger historical field.

The *Mémoires de Louis XVIII* similarly share this field. This review is written by J.W. Croker whose writing is frequently contestatory and oppositional. As I will show in the next chapter, he was a vociferous critic of Macaulay's *History* when it came out. His review of the fake memoirs is worth discussing at length in the light of Macaulay's worry over the authenticity of Pepys's *Diary*. A number of its aspects indicate the degree to which authentication and forgery represent two sides of a coin. At a number of points throughout the article the reviewer claims that because they are fake these memoirs are beneath readers' attention. Yet the effect of reading the review, which goes to lengthy detail as to why the publication is a forgery, is to feel that there is a very fine line between taking the publication seriously and dismissing it. In a sense, the publication under review contains so much 'real' historical information that it can stand as a kind of cobbled history. What the writer is trying to disprove, is that it is a genuine memoir. Furthermore, the review itself is like a history of Louis XVIII's reign by default, because of the detail it evinces. Croker parades his own knowledge in such a way that he can be seen to be an authority.

The opening paragraph contains a dismissive rejection of the authenticity of the memoirs and, as an excuse for the detail he goes into, the Croker declares that he wishes "to save the pockets of our readers from the expense, and the pages of the future historian from the deception, of this costly and solemn forgery"<sup>65</sup>. There is a risk, then, that the memoirs might be taken at face value, that a future historian might have a dream like Macaulay's which turns out to be true, if Croker does not root out all

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<sup>65</sup> J.W.Croker, *Mémoires de Louis XVIII*, *Quarterly Review*, Vol.XLVIII, no.XCVI. p.455



the reasons why these memoirs represent a forgery. The point, however, is precisely that the fact that it is a forgery is not immediately apparent, or intrinsic to the text itself and must therefore *be* exposed - in fine detail. It is, too, an exposure which demonstrates the ingenuity and knowledge of the reviewer.

In a key passage at the beginning of the review the writer declares:

the value of *memoirs* - whether as regards amusement or utility - consists in their *authenticity*; that is, not merely in the abstract truth of the facts, or in the intrinsic justice of the observations, but in their giving the facts and observations as they appeared to, or proceeded from the individual named on the title-page.<sup>66</sup>

Whereas in the earlier discussion I suggested that the concept of authenticity as used by both Braybrooke and the reviewer in the *London Magazine* meant more than the genuineness of the manuscript, that it also means something like 'truth', Croker reverses the emphasis. But the way he expresses this suggests that authenticity as truth is the accepted meaning. It is not just in "abstract truth" or "the intrinsic justice of the observations". Authenticity also has to do with authorship. This meaning can be directly translated to Macaulay's dream. Pepys's *Diary* would be a forgery if written by Alice Trevelyan and not by Samuel Pepys, even if it remained the same text. But the statement goes further than this, because on its own, the fact of genuine authorship has no meaning. The reason for its importance is that it guarantees truth, or authenticity in the other sense. This is because the "facts and observations" are not given second hand, but by the person speaking, as an eye-witness. They are "facts and observations *as they appeared to, or proceeded from* the individual named on the title page". It should be pointed out here that the *Mémoires* did contain

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<sup>66</sup> *ibid.* p.458

a portion of Louis' actual memoirs but that the overall publication was padded out with other material purporting to be the king's memoirs.

While authorship is the primary requirement for the genuineness of a memoir, it is not the only form of authenticity. As I suggested earlier, historical 'authenticity' also implies the means by which historical 'reality' (or historical probability) are validated. Historical probability is an important concept in understanding the early nineteenth-century acceptance of a kind of historical 'truth' (or authenticity), embodied in historical fiction. Fictional characters play out, as the review for *Zohrab the Hostage* suggests, what *might* have been. In the above quotation, authenticity *also* - though "not merely" - consists in the "abstract truth of the facts" *and* "in the intrinsic justice of the observations". But as the Croker's review makes clear, this truth and justice of observation, are of a particular kind relevant to memoirs. He admits that these cobbled memoirs contain much that is 'historically true' and corroborated by other sources, but they are not true in terms of the personal perspective of a memoir. In part, this is because what the fabricated part of the text lacks is "that slip-slop familiarity - that over-anxiety about his personal comforts - that trivial and puerile gaiety, which degraded but authenticated his Majesty's real *Narrative*".<sup>67</sup> At other points in the review, Croker brings up the question of daily trivialities. "No imagination", he avers, "could furnish those little details which reality so profusely supplies, and if they had attempted to do so, they would have been liable to flagrant detection at every page".<sup>68</sup> The picture given throughout this article is that authentic memoirs give the reality of daily life in a way that no fabrication - no imagination - can create. This might seem self-evident, but what it

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<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* p.459.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.* p.462.

implies is that *memoir* writing is qualitatively different from *imaginative* writing in its ability to give the truth. What this memoir lacks, Croker says, is "that *individuality* which is the infallible test of authentic memoirs".<sup>69</sup>

Croker goes on to expose sections where - impossible in a real memoir - events occurring at later dates are foreshadowed, and to illustrate where the information has been stolen from other sources. He acknowledges the "ingenuity and skill" of the fraud and that there is a sufficient sprinkling of real occurrences, and an accuracy in the dates, to give the whole "at first sight, an air, if not of authenticity, at least of plausibility".<sup>70</sup> By lengthy comparisons Croker shows how much of the material is a rewriting of the *Mémoires de Bachaumont*. He comes to an episode which he says is historically a "downright LIE". This is the climactic point which clinches his exposure. But he says of it, revealingly, that he is "glad to have such irresistible evidence of their utter falsehood", as if without this, the text would lack incontrovertible evidence of its falsity. He had earlier said that he wished to save future historians from being deceived by the falsity of the *Mémoires* and in his closing pages suggests that in fact they have been enjoying "an uncontradicted vogue" so that if not exposed "they would soon become an authority".<sup>71</sup>

In passing I suggested that in the early nineteenth century, attributing observations to an 'eye-witness' could 'authenticate' historical fiction, by appearing to provide the medium through which historical probability could be represented. There is common ground here between fiction, diaries and memoirs. But distinctions also had to be made, even if the boundaries are often blurred. Authenticity, as defined by the

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<sup>69</sup> *ibid.* p.461.

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.* p.466.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.* p.478.



reviewer of *Mémoires de Louis XVIII* cannot be wholly separated from the genre to which it is being applied. When it comes down to it, authenticity in terms of the truth of the observations, will arise from the simple fact of the text's being authentic in the other sense, that it proceeds from the observations of an individual. Commentary about Pepys's *Diary* in the early nineteenth century frequently sounds as if it is formulaic, sharing ideas and even stock phrases with commentary on both history proper and historical novels, but it was also *generically* distinguished from other forms of writing within that shared discourse. Some of those generic distinctions are spelled out in the review of the *Mémoires*.

As I suggested earlier, forgeries which manage successfully - or, in the case of the *Mémoires*, almost successfully - to pass as 'original' documents can tell us more about the processes by which authentication is established, than about the historical 'reality' they purport to represent. They play on, or employ, the very same mechanisms of authentication used to distinguish between the 'real' and the simulated artefact. To a large extent, the processes of authentication are 'external' to the artefact itself. I say that this is a temporary effect because forgeries generally become less and less convincing - through a kind of recidivism - with the passing of time, assuming the characteristics of the period in which they were made. Though it is not a line of argument he develops himself, this notion of recidivism strengthens Ian Haywood's case that authenticity is determined by current cultural processes, by foregrounding the intense historicity of the interpretive acts by which artefacts from the past are judged authentic or forged. In the next chapter I want to contextualise Croker's exposure by introducing a discussion of the two companion articles. As I suggested, the three articles taken together share common ground in relation to their views on history. But in the three articles we

can see that different forms of writing about the past are both being compared and being distinguished from one another. Memoirs, it is clear, should be factual.

At a time when so much writing came under the rubric 'History', the lines between authenticity and forgery were not very secure and had to be continuously reinforced through arguments like those of Croker. Scott's novels, after all, were admitted as a kind of history. Given this scenario, what distinguishes the *Memoires de Louis XVIII* as a forgery to be condemned, from Leigh Hunt's *Sir Ralph Esher*, which also came out in 1832, and which presented itself with equal care as a genuine memoir, 'originally' written in French and 'translated' by the author, but which, by the time of its second edition twenty years later passed as a historical novel? Why could the *Mémoires* not be read as a novel of the same kind? The obvious answer to this is that Louis XVIII was both a real person and had lived recently, whereas Esher was a fictional character. But was anyone to know this? Or was it that Leigh Hunt (like Defoe before him) was cleverer in his deception? There is nothing in the first edition to suggest that the text gave signals to its readers that it was a tongue-in-cheek attempt to produce a 'real' memoir. Or was it that the *Mémoires de Louis XVIII* suffered from English prejudice? There are hints in the review that the deception was made worse by the fact that it was a French deception. Like the *Mémoires de Louis XIII*, *Sir Ralph Esher* depends on cobbling together evidence from other texts, including Pepys's *Diary*. The point is that both texts attempt to simulate 'real' memoirs. Given that such forgeries were capable of being produced, we could say that in his anxiety to verify authenticity, Lord Braybrooke, through the process of editing and editorial comment, simulated a real, real memoir.

Macaulay's fear that Pepys's *Diary* might be forged seems not to have been baseless in the sense that real texts and forgeries could be hard to distinguish. Early nineteenth-century notions of authenticity were linked to how objective reality might be apprehended and written. In the first place this posits the existence of an objective reality both in the present, and in the past. In a sense, this objective reality is implied to exist by the means found to represent it. In the third quarter of the century, the nature of the text's realism was often likened to the 'realism' of photography, or the daguerreotype. Once again, the analogy with photography stresses immediacy and realism through the 'registering' rather than the representation of reality. Allen Grant commented in 1867 that "Pepys daily devoted a few sacred and precious moments to photographing the events of the day" and that he gives us the "stern truth and fidelity of the incidents".<sup>72</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine* compared the self-biographers Pepys and Evelyn with Macaulay and other historians suggesting that where these latter fail in the "broad and general story" the former supply in a "bit of sun bright daguerreotype".<sup>73</sup> The *Temple Bar* also likens Pepys's "graphic force" to photography.<sup>74</sup> The same article claims that the truth of Pepys's pictures comes from the fact that they were not made "to lead, or mislead others, but simply and only as a record for himself".<sup>75</sup> The analogy with photography conforms to the pattern of interpretation which attempts to extinguish the mediating fact of writing to see the text as a transcription of reality.

As a brief coda, it could be pointed out that the traditions of interpretation established by Braybrooke's editions have had a long life.

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<sup>72</sup> Allen Grant, *Mr. Secretary Pepys*, (New York, 1867.) p.5.

<sup>73</sup> Reprinted in *Living Age*, Vol.42, 1854. p.292.

<sup>74</sup> *Temple Bar*, Vol. XXX, Nov. 1870. p.239.

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.* p. 236.



In *Young Mr Pepys* (1973), a biography based on the *Diary*, John Hearsey mentions in passing, that on 21 April, 1661 Pepys "made one of the *few* direct references to the Diary itself" when he mentions writing "five or six days Diaries".<sup>76</sup> Later in the book, the only other reference to writing up several days, is associated with failing eyesight.<sup>77</sup> In the most recent biography of Pepys, Vincent Brome pauses in his narrative at the beginning of chapter ten, "Second Dutch War and the Fire of London" to suggest that the *Diary* "enshrined Pepys's 'soul' laid bare every night in a shorthand few could read, deliberately kept secret, with tortured industry, for his eye alone". A few sentences later, still in a generalising tone, he says that "exhausted after a day of 'naval battle', drink and casual sex, [Pepys] insists on completing the day's entry, recording in the greatest detail the doings of an extraordinary ordinary man".<sup>78</sup> It is true that these are passing comments, but they both reinforce the dominant impression left by Braybrooke that on the whole Pepys wrote every night, did not often refer to the fact of his writing, and wrote exclusively for himself.

<sup>76</sup> John E.N. Hearsey, *Young Mr Pepys*, (History Book Club, London, 1973) p. 71.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.* p.258.

<sup>78</sup> Vincent Brome, *The Other Pepys*, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1992) p.104.

Four.

## IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PAST.

"Damian had to assume that there was such a thing as the past but any evidence for it was part of the present, too. All the world had ever known was a succession of present moments. There was - there is - nothing else." (Peter Ackroyd, *First Light*, p.134.)

Historical-mindedness was central to early nineteenth-century culture. It did not just represent an increased interest in the past but a new way of conceptualising the 'past as being profoundly different from the present'.<sup>1</sup> In her discussion of Walter Scott, Ina Ferris suggests that "history held a special cognitive and political place" in the early nineteenth-century hierarchy of genres. Historical consciousness became central to perception: "the 'historical turn' of the century meant that to know anything one had to know its history, and the success of the Waverley novels is both a sign and consequence of this shift to historical reasoning."<sup>2</sup> Maurice Mandelbaum indicates the pervasiveness of historical thinking in all areas of thought in early-Victorian England - not only literature, philosophy and religion, but also in the sciences.<sup>3</sup> As with the novels of Scott, the publication of Pepys's *Diary*, was both a sign and consequence of this shift, and its generic definition took shape within the field encompassed by historical-mindedness. There was a corresponding new set of conditions for historical authenticity, which, as I shall discuss

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<sup>1</sup> Simmons, James. *The Novelist as Historian*, (Mouton, The Hague and Paris, 1973). p.27

<sup>2</sup> Ferris, Ina. *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History and the Waverley Novels*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1991), p.140. See also, Raymond Chapman, *The Sense of the Past in Victorian Literature*, (St Martin's Press, New York, 1986), Chapter 1, "An Age of Uncertainty" and *passim*. and Andrew Sanders, *The Victorian Historical Novel 1840-1880*, (Macmillan, London, 1978.) pp.1-31.

<sup>3</sup> Mandelbaum. Maurice, *History, Man and Reason: A Study in Nineteenth century Thought*, (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1971.)

below, the popularity of Scott's novels tested and modified. The new historical consciousness of the early nineteenth century was *qualitatively* different from that of the previous century and it played a crucial role in the "radical recomposition of the map of knowledge". Historical consciousness represented an epistemological shift taking place after the French Revolution. Rosemary Jann sums up the change by saying that after the French revolution the new historicist outlook "shifted attention from the general to the specific, from the mechanical to the organic, and from the judgmental to the sympathetic".<sup>4</sup> On this point Bann endorses Foucault's notion that the new historical awareness - historicism - arose as "a reaction to an overpowering sense of loss" with a corresponding attempt to retrieve a lost past.<sup>5</sup> In a concept which is useful to my own study, Bann states that his argument concerning representations of the past in the early nineteenth century proceeds by tracing the "dialectic of this loss" and the attempt to retrieve the past. I want to argue that the particular form which historicism took in the early nineteenth century was palpably an anxious desire to recuperate a lost past in the face of rapid change. The physical face of England changed dramatically in the first half of the nineteenth century. The emphasis on recapturing and confronting the *look* of the past which pervades so much historical thinking at this time seems to be a measure of that loss. It was no longer desirable to talk *about* the past. As I will show in relation to Macaulay's essays and some responses to historical novels, the idea of the past as a foreign country where they do things differently and where everything looks different, was a commonly employed analogy in the early nineteenth century. But as David Lowenthal suggests, "it was a

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<sup>4</sup> Rosemary Jann, *The Art and Science of Victorian History*, (Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1985) p.xx.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, p.14.



perspective of recent vintage ... Up to the nineteenth century those who gave any thought to the historical past supposed it much like the present".<sup>6</sup> The desire was to be in the presence of the past, to have the past evoked descriptively in such a way that it could be seen. Early nineteenth-century historicism had its limits. While it differed from the Enlightenment outlook on the past in seeing the past as organically different from the present, and tended to see society in terms of unique stages, even the most progressive thinkers did not see the past in radical historicist terms whereby the past can *only* be seen in its own terms. Early nineteenth-century historicism conformed to Hayden White's description as "the tendency to interpret the whole of reality, including what up to the romantic period had been conceived as absolute and unchanging values, in historical, that is to say, relative, terms."<sup>7</sup> The famous third chapter of Macaulay's *History of England* in which he attempts to describe the social conditions of England in 1685, is a perfect example of the employment of a relative historicism. While the expressed desire may have been to see the past more on its own terms, the reality was that it was evoked comparatively. The difference between the present and the past, and the superiority of the former, is what Macaulay's chapter keeps before the reader's eye.

The perspective of early nineteenth century historicism was, therefore, refracted through an awareness of change. Six years after the first publication of Pepys's *Diary*, J.S. Mill summed up this mindset in a passage whose own historicist bearings indicate the extent to which the

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<sup>6</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge University Press, 1985.) p.xvi

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Henry Ritter, *Dictionary of Concepts in History*, (Greenwood Press, New York, 1986) p. 183.

idea of 'deep' historical change, and the difference of one age from another, had become hard to escape:

The 'spirit of the age' is in some measure a novel expression. I do not believe that it is to be met with in any work exceeding fifty years in antiquity. The idea of comparing one's own age with former ages, or with our notion of those which are yet to come, had occurred to philosophers; but it never before was itself the dominant idea of any age.

It is an idea essentially belonging to an age of change. Before men begin to think much and long on the peculiarities of their own times, they must have begun to think that those times are, or are destined to be, distinguished in a very peculiar manner from the times which preceded them.<sup>8</sup>

Harry T. Shaw has criticised Lukács for making negative judgments of historical novels on the basis of a distinction between "past as past" and the "present as history". According to Shaw, Lukács sees the proper function of the historical novel as being "to provide a representation of historical process which promotes the discovery of the present as history. It is not interested in the depiction of the past in its own right".<sup>9</sup> In this Shaw is pinpointing a real concern of Lukács's study of the historical novel, which further adumbrates a case for seeing mid nineteenth-century realist novels set in the present, as themselves histories of the present. But to some extent Lukács does no more than elaborate how thinkers like Mill (in the above quotations) and Macaulay explained the relationship between the past and the present to themselves and to their readers. The quotation from Mill shows quite clearly that the *awareness* of the present as itself a historical moment subject to change was a recent phenomenon predicated on an equally new recognition that change had already taken

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<sup>8</sup> J.S. Mill *The Spirit of the Age*, Ed. with and Introductory essay by Fr. von Hayek, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942.) p.1.

<sup>9</sup> Harry E. Shaw, *The Forms of Historical Fiction Sir Walter Scott and his successors*. (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1983.) p.46.

place. This awareness of the present as a historical moment in a progressive society belongs more to the early nineteenth century than to the later part of the century.

John Grumley sees the beginnings of a historicist outlook in the eighteenth century occurring as traditional ideas became "increasingly untenable". It was at that time that "the socio-economic forms of nascent bourgeois society developed an irreversible momentum and the *ancien régime* approached political crisis".<sup>10</sup> These changes, which included the "expansion of the market economy...and increasing social mobility", led to an awareness of "history as dynamic change".<sup>11</sup> The French Revolution gave the push to the new awareness of history, so that by the end of the eighteenth century, the static metaphysical concept of totality was overtaken by a "dynamic notion of historical processuality".<sup>12</sup> Arthur Marwick similarly attributes the new conception of the past taking hold at the beginning of the nineteenth century to "the great revolutionary upheavals at the end of the eighteenth century" after which "it was no longer possible to believe in the unchanging character of human nature, or the immutable nature of social institutions".<sup>13</sup>

The impression from statements like these is of a quite sudden and decisive change. But what I want to trace in this chapter is a period of transition from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the middle of the century when a new general historical outlook began to shape the way texts were seen in relation to one another and when new histories began to be written. I want to show the two sides of the change - the *particular*

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<sup>10</sup> Grumley, John E., *History and totality: Radical historicism from Hegel to Foucault*, (Routledge, London and New York, 1989) p.5.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.* p.6

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History* (Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London, 1984) p.36.



character of a more progressive early nineteenth-century historicism, as represented by Francis Jeffrey and Nassau Senior, for example, and the persistence of more conservative points of view as represented by John Wilson Croker or the reviewer of Pepys's *Diary* in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Neither of these sides is sharply polarised and unaffected by the other. John Wilson Croker's conservative historical outlook, for example, looks very similar to eighteenth-century ideas, but it was also predicated on a view of the significance past society concordant with his own times.

The publication of Pepys's *Diary* was a key moment in this period of transition and many elements of the tensions between the older and newer views of history can be seen argued out in reviews of the first edition. Braybrooke's own comments, and editorial methods, are part of this scenario. Like Croker, he holds conservative views which have nevertheless been influenced by the new vision of the past. Interesting as it would be to highlight the extent of the change in historical consciousness in the early nineteenth century by comparing it with eighteenth century historical thinking, space does not allow me to do so. Instead, I want to show how writers in the early nineteenth century measured the extent of their own difference from the eighteenth century in, for example, criticisms of Hume and Gibbon. This chapter opens up the discussion in the previous two chapters on trifling details and authenticity to the broader questions of early nineteenth-century historical thought in an attempt to show the parameters within which Pepys's *Diary* went from being a text which, in 1825, had uncertain historical value, to one which in 1848 was universally accepted as having great historical value. To some extent, theory preceded application, though this is a point I would not want to exaggerate. When faced with Pepys's *Diary*, as I

showed in chapter two, some reviewers were still uncertain as to whether the trifling details could be assimilated into the new historical theories. At the same time, the publication of the text forced reviewers to think about these issues in terms of the new historical ideas which were clearly in the air.

Stephen Bann writes about the "strategies of representation which reflected and determined the 'historical mindedness' of the nineteenth century".<sup>14</sup> What this chapter offers is what can be regarded as a subset of those strategies of representation as they effect the publication and interpretation of Pepys's *Diary*. In the first part of the chapter I want to focus on the first three decades of the century up to the late 1820s. In the second part I will concentrate on Macaulay's historical essays and responses in the mid century to his *History*.

A measure of the trajectory of changes in historical thinking in the early nineteenth century can be gained from entries in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. As organs of knowledge which are based on what is established, rather than ephemeral, and which take years in preparation, encyclopedias are probably less immediately responsive to changes in culture than journals. For that reason, once they do register substantial change, we can assume that change to have been fairly thoroughgoing. The seventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* published in 1842 carried exactly the same definition of history as had appeared in previous editions going back to the second edition of 1781. In part, it reads:

History, in general, signifies an account of the remarkable events which have happened in the world, arranged in the order in which they actually occurred, together with an explanation of the causes to which they were owing, and of the different aspects they have produced as far as can be discovered.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Stephen Bann, p.165

<sup>15</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 7th edition, Vol XI, 1842, p. 499

This is the kind of view of history belonging to the doctrine of the so-called 'dignity of history', a narrative of great events and political transactions. The writing of history requires the "accurate arrangement of detail and event".<sup>16</sup> The writer makes a distinction between the "facts which it is the peculiar business of history to record, and the inferences as general truths which they are calculated to evolve".<sup>17</sup> But the entry on history in the eighth edition (1859) written by David Masson evinces a considerable change in the idea of history. Masson's version of history accords with opinions rehearsed over and over in the periodicals from the first decade of the century and which explicitly attacked precisely the definition put forward in the quotation above. For Masson history "is the adequate record of the collective acts and experiences of men when they are grouped together in society". Furthermore (post-Macaulay) "good historical writing consists of a judicious blending of descriptive surveys of social states with narrative accounts of social transactions". What is essential to Masson's view of history - and different from that of the previous edition - is an emphasis on the social and on the everyday life of those who comprise the state. In the seventh edition, history is a narrative of events and consequences, whereas in the eighth edition history is based on a more organic sense of society. For Masson, the ideal history would include "all that has been thought, said, done, or suffered, by all who have lived in a community".<sup>18</sup>

If we want to get some idea of the cross-currents rippling through early-nineteenth-century historical thinking in Britain, there is nowhere better to look than in contemporary reviews of Scott's novels. Scott's

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<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* p.469

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* p.497.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*



novels were not only popular, they were taken seriously within the realm of history. A. Dwight Culler claims that Scott was "primarily responsible for historicising the imagination of the English people in the nineteenth century".<sup>19</sup> Together with reviews on diaries and memoirs, reviews of Scott's historical fiction contain a great deal of historical theorising, both abstract and applied.<sup>20</sup>

Because Scott's novels so thoroughly captured the reading public's imagination from the first appearance of *Waverley* in 1814 well into the 1830s, reviews of Scott, both adverse and favourable, afford one of the best measures of the parameters of early nineteenth-century historical thinking. In the following discussion, while I am ranging over a period of just over twenty years in discussing views of Scott, I do not wish to discuss the reviews in chronological order of appearance. The dates, however, are worth keeping in mind, since the purpose of this discussion is to throw some light on the reception of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* in 1825. Significant changes of opinion regarding the nature of history - a kind of consolidation - occurred in the second and third decades of the century. I want to claim that Macaulay's "History" essay of 1828 clinched some of the ideas that had been playing through reviews of Scott as well as reviews of other histories, diaries, memoirs and so on. This turned out to be a popular essay precisely because it so eloquently articulated a growing rejection of Enlightenment history in favour of Romantic historicism. After the appearance of Macaulay's essay, there seems to have been more unanimity in the acceptance of the broad tenets of this

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<sup>19</sup> A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985.)

<sup>20</sup> John O. Hayden in *Scott: the Critical Heritage* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970) p.6 notes that, "From the period of Scott's contemporary reception, roughly 1805-32, an enormous amount of data has survived. Well over 350 reviews of the novels alone exist, and mentions of Scott and 'the author of *Waverley*' crops up everywhere in the correspondence and diaries of the period".

form of historicism. So, the date of the publication of Pepys's *Diary*, 1825, and the date of Macaulay's essay, 1828, serve as a background to the following discussion of reviews of Scott's historical fiction.

One significant adverse review came from an anonymous reviewer in the *Eclectic Review* in 1820 who thought *Ivanhoe* stretched historical credibility too far. The arguments of this review repay examination because they suggest areas of resistance which explain some of the less enthusiastic responses to the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*. Where Scott's other novels had taken readers no further back than the late seventeenth century, six hundred years lay between the time of *Ivanhoe* and the present. For the reviewer, this gap in time exposes the central problem in all Scott's novels - the conflicting interests of history and fiction. This was not a new question in itself, there has always been some kind of boundary drawn between a notion of history and a notion of fiction, but in the early nineteenth century new epistemological conditions brought them into closer contact through the licensing of imagination as an access to reality. Some of the boundaries become blurred and some were redrawn. The reviewer of *Ivanhoe* in the *Eclectic Review* attempted to maintain boundaries resembling eighteenth-century distinctions between what is proper to different spheres of inquiry, or to different genres. Historical romances, according to this view, are a type of hybrid attempting to unite incompatible cognitive categories: "They attempt to combine two opposite kinds of interest; that arising from general views of society connected with moral and political considerations, and implying a certain degree of abstraction, which is the proper interest of history, and that resulting from an engrossing sympathy with the feelings and fortunes of individuals, which is the appropriate charm of fictitious narrative".<sup>21</sup> In its distinction

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* pp.190-191

between the generalising survey of history and the individual particularities of fiction, this statement is not too far from Samuel Johnson's differentiation of history from biography outlined in chapter two.

It is perhaps worth remembering here that this review was published in 1820, when the manuscript of Pepys's journal was being transcribed. This review taps into a still-current notion of the dignity of history whose moral and political explanatory power would be vitiated by a descent to trifling details. Whether or not the particularities of everyday life had a place in history proper was a question which, at the manifest level of discussion, distinguished those who had begun to accept a kind of organic historicism from those who maintained a belief in the dignity of history with its adherence to a form of generalising survey.

The argument brought against Scott goes to the heart of early nineteenth-century historicism with its ideal of seeing past societies from the inside. This ideal was expressed twelve years later in another review of Scott (which I will discuss more extensively below) written by T.H. Lister, who suggested that history proper should take its bearings from Scott's methodology. If history is to teach through example it should afford us a view of the past through "an acquaintance with minor details, and with the habits, conditions and opinions of former races, and *by being as though we had lived among them*". (Emphasis mine.) Lister reversed the old formulation concerning the dignity of history and its proper province as opposed to trifling details, suggesting that post-Scott, "we now feel more fully that dates and names, - nay, even the articles of a treaty, or the issue of a battle, although desirable pieces of knowledge, are yet trivial, compared with the importance and utility of being able to penetrate below that surface on which float the great events and stately pageants of the



time".<sup>22</sup> It is precisely with regard to enabling us to be "as though we had lived among them" that *Ivanhoe* according to the *Eclectic Review* fails, because the distance of its setting means it is constructed on a central anachronism. In the first few pages of this review it appears as if there is a problem *in principle* with attempting to create a sense of being in the presence of the past, a fundamental problem of historical realism which the special difficulties in *Ivanhoe* expose more readily than the other novels. The problem manifests itself in the anachronistic language Scott is forced to use. As the reviewer says, "English is a term scarcely applicable ... to the times of Richard I".<sup>23</sup> While the manners of our ancestors are a legitimate subject of curiosity, there is a question as to whether the attempt to create the illusion of being transported into the past by the "graphic force of description" represents the "realities of history". The reviewer has no objection to a romance in modern language set in the past, because it does not pretend to be history. But where it attempts to present the manners and customs of the age "with antiquarian fidelity ... everything bordering upon palpable anachronism must be carefully avoided".<sup>24</sup> A romance is only concerned with making us believe in its own inner logic, but "the Author of *Ivanhoe*, not content with this, aims to produce the conviction in his readers, that the personages of the tale performed their part in a specific manner, and used certain specific modes of speech; that the events not merely took place, but took place under such minutely defined peculiarities of scene and circumstance".<sup>25</sup>

This is an important statement of resistance to Scott's endeavours in the light of what was to come in the next thirty years. Towards the end of

<sup>22</sup> T.H. Lister "Tales of My Landlord", *Edinburgh Review* Vol. April, 1832, p.78

<sup>23</sup> John O. Hayden (Ed.) *Scott: the Critical Heritage*, p.189

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p.190

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

the decade Macaulay first published his so-called "History" essay (1828). In it, he explicitly used Scott as a model for the historian who wished to vivify the past and enter into its spirit. As I will show, the metaphors and imagery employed in Macaulay's essay suggest that he, too, wished to transport the reader imaginatively into the past. Some of Jeffrey's comments in the 1832 review of Scott strongly echo Macaulay's essay and it is noticeable that by the end of the 1820s the terms in which the doctrine of the dignity of history were rejected had a kind of unanimity.

If we return to the 1820 review of *Ivanhoe* we find a contemporary statement which accords with a view put forward by both Stephen Bann and Ian Haywood to the effect that Scott's historical novels were conditioned by the eighteenth-century historical forgeries of Macpherson, Chatterton and Charles Bertram. Bann suggests that these forgeries were "a foreshadowing of the immense imaginative achievement of the *Waverley* novels". One of their effects was to condition their readers' ability to discriminate what was "authentic from what was false in a historically concrete milieu" despite the fact that they were "in the strictest sense a deception".<sup>26</sup> The reviewer of *Ivanhoe* took a less generous view of the deception. When the "antiquary is at fault, the pseudo-historian is detected in his forgeries".<sup>27</sup> Scott's historical novels are forgeries because they attempt to simulate the experience of an actual past, or at least to bring the reader into the presence of a past. While this may seem to represent a wholesale condemnation of the enterprise of historical fiction, the reviewer modifies the attack by suggesting that the problem with this novel is that it mixes history and romance and as a result is neither "genuine romance [nor] genuine history; he [Scott] has furnished us with

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<sup>26</sup> Stephen Bann, p.3. See also Ian Haywood, *The Making of History*. p.170. and *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> John O. Hayden (Ed.) p.190.

neither a memoir nor a legend of the times, - certainly with nothing that can convey any idea of the living manners of our ancestors, beyond what may easily be picked out of the History of England, except to a few points of costume".<sup>28</sup>

Scott anticipated just such an attack in the Dedicatory Epistle to the novel. He justifies his use of modernised if slightly antiquated language by suggesting that the use of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French would render the novel unintelligible to most readers. There must also be some form of commerce between the past and the present if any interest is to be excited, so that the past is "translated into the manners, as well as the language" of the present.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, Scott argues that despite historical differences, human nature is much the same from age to age, and this makes the distant past 'translatable' and therefore intelligible. Avrom Fleishmann argues that it is in this preface that Scott lays down "clear historical principles, drawn partly from Enlightenment uniformitarianism and partly from Romantic historicism". According to Fleishmann, Scott emerges "precisely at the time of transition between these ways of looking backward". Scott has a double perspective on the past in that he can give an "interior sense of past life" while viewing it from a coherent present point of view. By straddling these two perspectives Scott avoids the problems of both extremes - an absolute belief in the uniformity of human nature on the one hand, and an equally absolute belief in a human nature which is the result of historical change.<sup>30</sup> Leon Pompa expresses the conundrum in relation to Hume and Enlightenment history. The problem for Enlightenment history was that it

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.* p.193

<sup>29</sup> Walter Scott, "Dedicatory Epistle" to *Ivanhoe*, in Ioan Williams (Ed.), *Sir Walter Scott on Novelists and Fiction*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968) p.435.

<sup>30</sup> Avrom Fleishmann, *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf*, (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore and London, 1971.) p.25.



"grounded a theory of history upon a theory of human nature", which makes that human nature itself 'a-historical'. On the other hand, "the possibility that through time human nature has changed leads to the problem of understanding history" because if human nature has changed "in its entirety", how can artefacts from the past be understood at all.<sup>31</sup> This is exactly the problem to which Scott gives expression in his Dedicatory Epistle. Aware that truly to enter into the twelfth century would lead to lack of intelligibility, he brings in the idea that in the end "common nature" predominates over historical difference.

As the foregoing discussion shows, however, contemporary readers of Scott gave more or less weight to the poles of this double perspective. For example, in a decidedly Johnsonian statement, John Wilson Croker (1816) saw the novelist's virtues as being like Shakespeare, whose Romans, Frenchmen and Englishmen "are all *men*", in Scott's novels "we distinguish the characteristic follies, foibles, and virtues, which belong to our own acquaintance, and to all mankind".<sup>32</sup> To this extent, setting novels in the past neutralises the effects of historical change. In a sense historical changes only go to prove Hume's dictum that "Mankind are so much the same ... in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new of strange in this particular" or, that the purpose of history is "only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature".<sup>33</sup> Croker also suggests that in *Waverley*, the differences in manners and customs between the past (which is the near past) and the present have been exaggerated by the author. This opinion is the opposite, in terms of the

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<sup>31</sup> Leon Pompa, *Human Nature and Historical Knowledge: Hume, Hegel and Vico*, (Cambridge University Press, 1990.) p.21.

<sup>32</sup> John O. Hayden (Ed.) p.100.

<sup>33</sup> See James Noxon, "Human Nature: General Theory and Individual Lives" in J.D. Browning (Ed.) *Biography in the 18th Century* (Garland Publishing Inc. , New York and London, 1980.) pp.8-19.

importance of historical difference and change, to that expressed by Francis Jeffrey.

Contemporaries of Scott were divided over the value of Fleishmann's different ways of looking backward. The lines which tended to divide them were drawn between a uniformitarian view of human nature and a historically changing view of human nature; and between a view of the dignity of history (which excluded fiction) and one which accepted that imaginative history could give a greater reality to the past. John Hayden notes that throughout Scott's life the "controversy over the mixture of history and romance continued with vigour".<sup>34</sup> One of the reasons the controversy was kept alive was that the first of these terms, history, was extremely variable.

In 1821, the year after the reviewer in the *Eclectic Review* condemned *Ivanhoe* for exposing the pseudo-historian in his forgeries, Nassau Senior praised elements of it for its vivid recreation of medieval life. Senior's praise goes to the heart of Romantic historicism. He asks by what means the vividness of the scene in chapter 29 describing the storming of Front de Bœuf's castle has been obtained and "by which the reader feels himself more present at that part of this scene, which is described by Rebecca, than at that which is described by the author in his own person".<sup>35</sup> Senior's argument hinges on the assumed desirability of the reader's vicarious presence at the scene. Had the reader really been at the event, by seeing and hearing "certain sensible objects" he might have drawn his own inferences. But the omniscient narrator, drawing information from various "secondary" sources cannot induce in a reader the sense of being present. The reader cannot suppose the narrator to

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<sup>34</sup> John O. Hayden, p.13

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* p.239.

have been present "*at the whole*". The conclusion Senior draws from this is a complete reversal of the value of the doctrine of the dignity of history and the notion in the *Eclectic Review* that history should be founded on a generalising principle. For the overview of the omniscient narrator may provide us with the means by which we can "judge perfectly of the *consequences* of an event, and leave us perfectly in the dark as to the actual *appearances* of which it really consisted".<sup>36</sup> The last part of this sentence is interesting for its echoes of the usual translation of von Ranke's "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" ("what actually happened")<sup>37</sup>. There are two important aspects to Senior's statement which together form a Romantic-historicist nexus. First he posits the existence of an historical actuality which is essentially different from the present; and secondly, he outlines a means of apprehending that reality through individual sensory experience. He implies that the reader can no longer learn anything from generalised consequences, but wants an immediate and 'unmediated' experience of the past in order to judge for him or herself. This desideratum, only ever capable of being fulfilled illusorily, indicates not only an anxiety over the loss of the past, one to be made up for through the deception of being in the presence of the past, but it also shows a mistrust of generalisation and representation and the grounds of shared understanding upon which generalisation must operate. Part of the illusion is that the reader should feel as if he or she is judging for him or herself as if through immediate sensory data. Senior suggests that while an omniscient narration offers "the greatest body of information" drawn from various other people's point of view - and this is the "common and historical" perspective - the intellect may be stimulated, but no new image

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p.240

<sup>37</sup> For a full discussion of this statement and its translations see Stephen Bann pp.8-15.



strikes the imagination. The implication here is that the use of the intellect alone is insufficient for a true understanding of historical reality. The single, eye-witness perspective, Senior suggests, offers greater "authenticity", even if we thereby "lose in the extent" of the omniscient and generalised point of view. We are more likely to sympathise with the single witness than a narrator who gives us secondhand information. But there is a qualification. The single witness, though more authentic, has the disadvantage of narrowing the range of information. For that reason there are other desirable conditions for coming "a step closer to being actually present". First it is better if the narrator gives us "not his inferences" but the "sensible objects themselves". Secondly, this material description should be given us in such a way that the images with we are presented strike both narrator and reader with the same novelty and freshness. The position of the narrator in this case is that of the traveller who is "so much better a describer than a native". From the point of view of the traveller we gain first impressions which, according to Senior, is what we wish for "because we wish to feel as we should have felt if we had been present".<sup>38</sup> All Senior's comments are directed towards a finding a means of evoking the past so that the reader feels present. The idea of the eyewitness as traveller is also a way of appreciating the difference, or foreignness of the past from a perspective in the present. As I will indicate later, the idea of the past as a foreign country has a metaphorical force in the early nineteenth century beyond an expression of difference - it also has to do with perspective and the apprehension of sensory data.

Looking back from 1874 Robert Louis Stevenson saw Scott's contribution to literature as a matter of bringing historical location into view. Stevenson compares Scott with Fielding as novelists equal in

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<sup>38</sup>John O. Hayden (Ed.) p.241.

stature, though Fielding has a firmer grasp of narrative cohesion. But they are very different novelists. The difference consists in the relationship between characters and background and is exemplified by the difference between Scott's *Waverley* and Fielding's *Tom Jones*. Fielding's novels occupy the same arena of "exclusively human interest" as the drama, so that in *Tom Jones*, though it is "Laid in the year forty-five ... the only use he makes of the rebellion is to throw a troop of soldier's into his hero's way". In Fielding's novels, human character is abstracted from its material surroundings such that the novelist relates only what is necessary to explain the actions of characters in terms of "a few simple personal elements ... the larger motives are all unknown to him; he had not understood that that the configuration of the landscape or the fashion of the times could be for anything in a story". Scott's "instinct", Stevenson claims, was that of a man who lived in a time "*profoundly different*" from that of Fielding, so that "the individual characters begin to occupy a comparatively small proportion of that canvas on which armies manoeuvre, and great hills pile themselves on each other's shoulders".<sup>39</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Interestingly, this statement sets up the conditions for approving Scott's historicism by assuming the very conditions of "profound difference" upon which the idea of historicism rests. Stevenson concludes from this comparison that it was "this change in the manner of regarding men and their actions first exhibited in romance, that has since renewed and vivified history". Stevenson goes on to suggest that in this respect art preceded philosophy. It is an interesting perspective because it comes from a time when Scott's initial popularity was beginning to wane and it registers the kind of change articulated by A Dwight Culler when he claims that Scott could be given primary responsibility for historicising

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<sup>39</sup>*ibid* p.477.

the English imagination. Also, within novelistic terms, rather than in terms of historical theory, Stevenson recognises a shift from a uniformitarian notion of human nature, to one in which human actions are inextricable from the material and historical circumstances in which they occur. In both chapter two and chapter three I suggested that one of the effects of a uniformitarian, and therefore a-historical, sense of human nature, is that the abstract notion of human nature itself becomes an objective measure of 'reality'. In other words, 'external reality' has little relevance in an understanding of human behaviour. The interaction of characters with a non-human environment is relatively meaningless. Instead 'reality' is apprehended in interpersonal terms. Stevenson sees this as the reason 'background' is incidental to the interactions of Fielding's characters because it has no power to "account for the actions of his creatures".

There were contemporaries of Scott, less effusively Romantic than Nassau Senior who, like Stevenson appreciated the organic relationship between characters and circumstances. Pre-figuring Senior's emphasis on immediacy, Francis Jeffrey commented on *Tales of My Landlord* in 1817 that Scott "makes us present to the times" in which he has placed his characters. The importance of Scott's novels is not that the author has discoursed in an abstract way on the great transactions of history, but that he has "shown their effects on private persons".<sup>40</sup> Jeffrey's argument exemplifies the terms in which more progressive historical thinkers in the early nineteenth century assailed the old notion of the dignity of history. It was generally a matter of overturning Gibbon's statement in the preface to the *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* that "Wars, and the

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<sup>40</sup>Francis Jeffrey "Tales of My Landlord", *Edinburgh Review* Vol.XXVIII, March, 1817. p.194.



administration of public affairs are the principle subjects of history". Interestingly, at this stage, he seems to believe that Gibbon's notion of history still prevails since he sets his own opinions up against what he calls "authentic history" which, he says, holds an exclusive focus on the great public events. These events have little direct influence "upon the body of the people" and do not "in general, form the principle business, or happiness or misery even of those who are in some measure concerned in them". Jeffrey's point of view is one that attempts to comprehend society as an organic whole. It was a theme Jeffrey had already pursued before in a review of Fox's *History of James III* in 1808, and it was a theme to which he returned in his review of Pepys's *Diary*. These recurring arguments over a period of twenty or so years show Jeffrey strengthening the 'historicist' side of his arguments, but just as important, for the sake of this study is the fact that he was testing out a general theory against a variety of different texts - history proper, historical novels and a diary. Jeffrey's reviews indicate the degree to which thinking about the past pervaded early nineteenth-century thinking and the extent to which different genres were, as I have said before, brought into close proximity.

In the 1808 review Jeffrey suggests that the historian needs to take account of the "general character" of the society from which events spring. This means comprehending the "manners, education, prevailing occupations, religion, taste, - and above all, the distribution of wealth, and the state of prejudice and opinions".<sup>41</sup> This kind of investigation was necessary in order to understand the "true source of events" whereas "merely to narrate the occurrences to which it gave rise, is to recite a history of actions without intelligible motives, and effects without

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<sup>41</sup>Francis Jeffrey, "Review of Fox's *History of James II*", *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XII, 1808. p.284.

assignable causes". Jeffrey is making a fairly serious request for history to enfranchise a larger part of the nation and to dig deeper than the surface level of events. This is a slightly different formulation of Senior's statement that an omniscient narration only gives us the consequences of past events, as opposed to the "actual *appearances* of which it really consisted".<sup>42</sup> It can also be noted that Jeffrey inverts his own ideas of cause and effect between the 1808 review and the 1817 review of Scott. In the former, the great events of history are seen as the product of the state of society, whereas in the novels, the great events affect the lives of individuals.

In his review of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*, Jeffrey rehearses the same opinions. As with the Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary* and that of the *London Magazine* discussed in the last chapter, Jeffrey introduces the text with a couple of pages of theorising about history. He opens his review by suggesting that memoirs from the past, by offering "the manners and habits of former times" and "in all their details, the character and ordinary way of life and conversation of our forefathers" allow us to see "from what beginnings, and by what steps, we have come to be what we are". Jeffrey considers that it is of vital importance both to the present and to the future to be able to judge social cause and effect, to look at the relationship between public and private life in the past, "the mutual action and reaction of government and manners". Jeffrey's opening remarks sound rather like a hankering for a kind of social science which, by looking at all possible variables and effects, will discover a set of historical laws. Following this assessment of what it is we desire from historical sources, he makes another general statement about history similar to those in the reviews already discussed. Once again Jeffrey employs a surface

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<sup>42</sup>John O. Hayden (Ed.) p.241.

and depth model whereby the events history proper has concerned itself with are merely manifest consequences:

Of all these things History tells us little - and yet they are the most important she could have been employed in recording. She has been contented, however, for the most part, with detailing only the broad and apparent results - the great public events and transactions, in which the true working principles of its destiny have their end and consummation; and points only to the wrecks and the triumphs that float down the tide of human affairs, without giving us any light as to those *ground currents* by which its central masses are governed, and of which those superficial appearances are, in most cases, the necessary, though unsuspected effects.<sup>43</sup>

He says in relation to Pepys's *Diary*:

These minute details, in short, which History has so often rejected as below her dignity, are indispensable to give life, certainty or reality to her delineations; and we should have little hesitation in asserting, that no history is really worth anything, unless it relate to a people and an age of which we have also those humbler and more private memorials. It is not in the grand Tragedy, or rather the Epic fictions, of History, that we learn the true condition of former ages - the real character of past generations, or even the actual effects that were produced on society or individuals at the time, by the great events that are there so solemnly recorded<sup>44</sup>

Later in the review, however, Jeffrey seems to contradict himself in a minor, but revealing way. Having argued for the inclusion of the details of everyday life in history itself and going on to discuss some of the social and personal elements of Pepys's *Diary*, half way through the review he makes a distinction between these elements of the text and the "political or historical" elements, which he finds disappointing. Rather than a contradiction, his association of the political and historical here may be no more than a matter of using the term "history" in the way he had previously used the term "authentic history", that is, history as it has

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<sup>43</sup> Francis Jeffrey, "Pepys's *Memoirs*", *Edinburgh Review*, Vol.43, November, 1825. p.24.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* p.25.



generally been understood. He finds the political or historical parts of Pepys's text "disappointing" because of the lack of information in the early part of the diary about the events leading up to the restoration itself. But he turns this unsatisfactory element around in order to suggest that it illustrates how "insensible the contemporaries of great transactions very often are of their importance, and how much more posterity sees of their character than those who were parties to them".<sup>45</sup> The reviewer for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who curtly dismissed the "ponderous tomes" as having no historical value, expressed a point of view opposite to that of Jeffrey. Despite the lack of historical value, the reviewer says:

Yet is it pleasant as a curiosity to read the personal narratives of men who lived in times and scenes familiar to us in history; and it is amusing to observe how sensibly they were influenced by events which at a distance appear to us trivial or disproportioned to the effect produced.<sup>46</sup>

These two reviews represent two sides of the conflict between the doctrine of the dignity of history and the emerging historicism. For Jeffrey the "broad and apparent" results no longer have explanatory power, to the extent that the "real" state of society in the past cannot be measured from an account of those events. So little historical 'reality' do those events have on their own that, at the time, ordinary everyday life remained comparatively unaffected by them. Strung together in a narrative, these events, separated as they are from their organic origins, become an "Epic fiction". The *Gentleman's Magazine* signifies something different when it uses the word 'history': history means what Jeffrey earlier termed "authentic history", the narrative of great events. Pepys's *Diary* cannot be assimilated to this kind of history and has little historical value. For this

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* p.40.

<sup>46</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1825 p.233.

reviewer history *is* the narrative of wars and great public transactions retrospectively evaluated and selected according to 'significance'. Therefore, as time passes, transient daily events lose their importance to a higher, more dignified, rationale. As a result what Pepys relates indicates an overvaluation of many things 'History' will ultimately reject. But it is worth going back to look at the difficulty Jeffrey has truly assimilating the everyday details to history proper, despite his theorising. For if it is true that the "contemporaries of great transactions" are not entirely sensible of their import, how are we to take account of their lack of awareness in the writing of history?

As with the reviews of Scott's novels, the reviews of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* illustrate ideas about history being contested and tested in terms of texts. Between the two views expressed above there were various shades. The Utilitarian journal the *Westminster Review* used Pepys's *Diary* as a way of condemning Charles II's government and drew the conclusion that as human nature has a kind of constancy, people would behave in the same way again if the social and political conditions of the 1660s came into existence again. Despite the belief in a common human nature, this is different from the same belief in the eighteenth century in that here, human nature is a kind of potential, if not a blank slate, which will be conditioned and influenced by historical circumstances. Unsurprisingly, this has some elements of a belief in 'social engineering' behind it.

For the *British Critic* the value of Pepys's *Diary* is that it fills in an everyday background to the "great facts of History" which are "engraven on bran and marble" and which will not suffer decay. Against this permanent record, Pepys's *Diary* throws up the fashions and manners which "perish and are forgotten with the generation to which they owe

their birth".<sup>47</sup> Less probing than other reviews, this review is nevertheless symptomatic of a tendency in commentary of the first edition of Pepys's *Diary* to set up the old history represented by the "great facts" as subject to radical modification by the details of everyday life, while finally failing to find any real accommodation between the two. It was as if the idea was there, but it could not quite be achieved in terms of the text.

The *Monthly Review* offered a similar opinion to that of the *British Critic*, but expressed it more in terms of the value of the details. Historians will be grateful to the minuteness of the details "which teach us to estimate men and measures far more accurately, by slight touches, than we can ever do by having them displayed according to the philosophy of the historian. Clarendon with his knowledge, and Burnet with his acumen, when descanting on the 'lewdness of that time' do not yield us such lights as the little tapers of Mr. Pepys".<sup>48</sup> Comparing Grammont and Pepys the reviewer claims that the former's generalisations count for less than the latter's "particular facts".

Jeffrey's review of Pepys's *Diary* employed a surface-depth model common to historical theorising of the time. This model served several purposes. It was a way of making an analogy between historical practices and society itself. History in the past had skimmed the surface of apparent events, which were only consequences. This history was played out among the ruling classes. But explaining history in terms of the ruling classes could no longer, after the French revolution especially, provide satisfactory historical explanations. As I pointed out in earlier chapters, to some degree, this meant that in the early nineteenth century the progressive historicist outlook had an anti-aristocratic thrust. Those who

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<sup>47</sup> *British Critic*, Vol 1, no. 2, January, 1826, p.402.

<sup>48</sup> *Monthly Review*, Vol.CVII, 1825. p.209.



dismissed trifling details as undignified tended towards a patrician view of history.

What does begin to emerge, however, at this time is a strong sense that it was beneath the surface that historical 'reality' existed. The *New Monthly Magazine* suggested, in relation to Pepys's *Diary* that the instruction offered by memoir-writers from the past has little to do with their intrinsic talent because, if they indulge freely in detail "sufficient must transpire of the real condition of things, to enable a reader of ordinary penetration to see beyond the false surface, which party zeal or self-interest may be inclined to put upon them".<sup>49</sup> This is a more limited expression of the general notion of surface and depth, but it still implies that there is a "real condition of things" which can be detected behind appearances. Memoirs are important, the review continues, for the traces of "the external forms of society, of the domesticity and interior of those great personages who have figured upon the public stage of life, and for recollections of those evanescent shades of opinion which are disregarded in the more 'sad and learned' narratives of professed historians".<sup>50</sup>

It is noticeable that each of these reviews, no matter what opinion of Pepys's text is finally reached, expresses its judgment in terms of - or generally as a foil to - 'history proper'. This history is either "'sad and learned' narratives of professed historians", or the "great facts of History", or the "philosophy of the historian", or a form of narration beneath whose "dignity" it is to supply the information retailed by Pepys's *Diary*.

How the information supplied by Pepys's *Diary* was used is another question. Most of the reviews used the text to denigrate the court of Charles II. Scott in the *Quarterly Review*, Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*,

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<sup>49</sup> *New Monthly Magazine*, Vol 14, 1825. p.97.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* pp 97-98.

William Stevenson in the *Westminster Review*, the anonymous reviewers of the *New Monthly Magazine*, and the *London Magazine* all took a strong stance on the inferior moral conditions of Restoration society. The *London Magazine* explicitly states that one of the functions of memoirs is to afford the opportunity to compare contemporary manners with those of the past. In so doing, the reviewer finds that, "rudeness of manners, as well as obtuseness of feelings, indicative of an age still deficient in refinement, may be traced in many particulars recorded by Mr. Pepys".<sup>51</sup> Later in the review this opinion is restated: "Everything, in short recorded, that bears at all upon the subject of manners, countenances the idea of a grossness among all classes that exceeds any conception that former documents would lead one to form. In question of this kind, the slightest piece of information often carries us further in our conclusions than narratives of length".<sup>52</sup> This review also compares Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* unfavourably with Pepys's *Diary*. Scott's novel lacks "vitality" and "animation". Had he used Pepys's text, "teeming" with information and anecdote, he might have created a "living narrative".<sup>53</sup> The conclusion to the review is one which brings Pepys's *Diary* into alignment with the "living" qualities requisite for historical novels: "... we recommend to the gentlemen of Covent-Garden, when they next get up a piece from the merry days of King Charles, to take their costume and manners from the Diary of Mr. Pepys. The reality will be found much more taking than fiction."<sup>54</sup>

William Stevenson in the *Westminster Review* used the term more familiar in the late eighteenth century to describe Pepys's *Diary* calling it a

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<sup>51</sup> "Manners of the court of Charles II", *London Magazine* Vol. 14 January 1826. p.110.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.* p.117.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.* pp.111-112.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.* p.118.

"secret history". He goes on to call it a "history of ministerial abuses [containing] the strongest possible argument for the necessity of a reform".<sup>55</sup> Stevenson suggests that the court of Charles and his brother James had been "put down at the revolution as a public nuisance".<sup>56</sup> The period demonstrates one law for the rich, another for the poor. He concludes that "the Restoration of Charles II may, upon a view of the whole, be classed, we think, among the most inane measures of which a people were ever guilty".<sup>57</sup> This is one of the most uncompromising views among the reviews, but it is not unique in its criticisms of Charles II's monarchy, extending into a general criticism of monarchy. The *Retrospective Review* used Pepys's *Diary* to the same end, and as I have already said, Charles Barker criticised Scott and the *Quarterly* for being too soft on Charles II's court, even though Scott had attacked the court's profligacy. Pepys's *Diary* seems to have been read in terms of the current range of political opinions.

Before moving on to look at Macaulay's essays and their influence on historical thinking in the 1830s and 1840s, one other aspect of the reception of the first edition deserves attention: Pepys and clothes. It is with this subject that the historical difference between 1825 and the Restoration period is most apparent, both in the way the text was edited and in its reception. Not a single review omitted to mention Pepys's interest in clothes. More than that, most devoted a considerable amount of space to passages about dress.

Francis Jeffrey's opening statement on dress presents us with what seems like a problem of interpretation:

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<sup>55</sup>*Westminster Review*, Vol 4, July-October, 1825. p.410.

<sup>56</sup> *ibid.* p.430.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*



The critical and affectionate notices of doublets, cloaks, beavers, periwigs, and sword-belts, actually outnumbering, we think, all the entries on any other subject whatever, and plainly engrossing, even in the most agitating circumstances, no small share of the author's attention. Perhaps it is to the same blot on his scutcheon, that we should trace a certain want of manliness in his whole character and deportment.<sup>58</sup>

This subject occupies Jeffrey for the next few pages. He suggests that perhaps Pepys's interest in clothes is the result of his consciousness of being an underling. He quotes a number of passages (to which I shall return) and suggests that Pepys's "passion for dress breaks out in every page almost".<sup>59</sup> After giving us another page about Pepys and dress, he declares that there are "more than 500 such notices".<sup>60</sup> Scott also devotes several pages to Pepys's clothes: "We cannot drop our sketch of Mr. Pepys's character without noticing his respect and veneration for fine clothes; and the harmless yet ludicrous vanity which dwells with such mechanical accuracy on each variety of garment wherewith he regales the eyes of the million".<sup>61</sup> Scott, like Jeffrey, takes a superior attitude to this minute 'heart-swelling' interest in dress also suggesting that it is the mark of a *parvenu*. Also like Jeffrey and most of the other reviewers, he cannot resist including a number of quotations. He concludes that Pepys probably showed no more interest in his appearance than any other man who had risen in the world by his "own exertions". He adds that Pepys was "only trusting to the cipher he used, and being more candid than people are used to be in communicating his real feelings".<sup>62</sup> To the *Gentleman's Magazine* Pepys "was as fond of fine clothes as a modern

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<sup>58</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Vol 43, 1825. p.27.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.* p.29.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* p.30.

<sup>61</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol.33, 1826. p.296.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.* p.298.

Dandy".<sup>63</sup> The first passages quoted in this review are concerned with dress and the reviewer adds that "every suit is minutely recorded, and the first wearing of his perriwig is discussed with laughable gravity".<sup>64</sup> The *British Critic* quoted passages which showed a "diligent attention to the proprieties of the outer man".<sup>65</sup>

If we turn to some of the passages quoted by these reviews and then to the edition from which they come, another aspect of the Braybrooke edition is thrown into clear relief. For 1 July, 1660 Braybrooke's entire entry is as follows:

This morning come home my fine camlett cloak, with gold buttons, and a silk suit, which cost me much money, and I pray god to make me able to pay for it. In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet.

The entry in Latham-Matthews begins in the same way but it is considerably longer:

This morning came home my fine Camlott cloak with gold buttons - and a silk suit; which cost me much money and I pray God to make <me> be able to pay for it. I went to the cook's and got a good joint of meat, and my wife and I dined at home alone.

In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet.

After sermon called in at Mrs. Crisps, where I saw mine-Heer Roder that is to marry Sam Hartlibs sister, a great fortune for her to light on, she being worth nothing in the world. Here I also saw Mrs. Greenlife, who is come again to live in Axeyard with her new husband, Mr. Adams. Then to my Lord's, where late at night comes Mr. Morland, whom I left prating with my Lord, and so home.<sup>66</sup>

The passage from Braybrooke's first edition for 22 september, 1660 reads:

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<sup>63</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1825, p.234.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *British Critic*, Vol 1, no.2, 1826. p.412.

<sup>66</sup> As with the *Diary* passages in the last chapter, I will omit footnote references, since the dates make them sufficiently clear.

I bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning; and I met with The. Turner and Joyce, buying of things to go into mourning too for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in the towne.

And in Latham-Matthews:

This morning I called up the boy to me and find him a pretty well-looking boy, and one that I think will please me.

I went this morning to Westminster by land along with Luellin, who came to my house this morning to get me to go with him to Captain Allen to speak with him for his brother to go with him to Constantinople; but could not find him. We walked on to Fleetstreete, where at Mr. Standings in Salsbury-court we drank our morning draught and had a pickled herring. Among other discourse here, he told me how the pretty woman that I always loved at the beginning of Cheapside that sells children's coates was served by the Lady Bennett (a famous Strumpet), who by counterfeiting to fall into a swoone upon the sight of her in her shop, became acquainted with her and at last got her ends of her to lie with a gallant that had hired her to Procure this poor soul for him. To Westminster to my Lord's; and there in the house of office vomited up all my breakfast, my stomach being ill all this day by reason of the last night's debauch. Here I sent to Mr. Bowyers for my chest and put up my books and sent them home. And stayed here all day in my Lord's chamber and upon the leads gazing upon Diana, who looked out at a window upon me. At last I went out to Mr. Harpers, and she standing over the way at the gate, I went over to her and appointed to meet tomorrow in the afternoon at my Lord's. Here I bought a hanging jack. From thence by coach home (by the way at the New Exchange I bought a pair of Short black stockings to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning; and here I met with The. Turner and Joyce buying of things to go into mourning too for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in towne), where I writ some letters by the post to Hinchingbrooke to let them know that this day Mr. Edwd Pickering is come from my Lord and says that he left him well in Holland and that he will be here within three or four days.

To bed, not well of last night's drinking yet. I had the boy up tonight for his sister to teach him to put me to bed, and I heard him read, which he doth pretty well.



This amply makes the point. There are many other passages where a daily entry in Braybrooke's first edition isolates a few comments about clothes in such a way as to attract the reader's attention. This is clearly the case with passages cited by the reviewers. If we look at the tenor of the comments made by the reviewers, all of them condescending, many of them dismissive of Pepys, we can suppose that Braybrooke highlighted them on the basis of similar opinions. Both Jeffrey, explicitly, and Scott, by implication, suggest that Pepys's interest in clothes is unmanly and undignified. This may be more than a matter of Pepys's personality, however. Ideas about the meaning of clothes had begun to change in the Romantic period along with ideas about individual personality and self-expression.<sup>67</sup> In the eighteenth century clothes represented social position, or occupation. They were not, as they became, expressive either of the body or of the personality. It was around the time of the publication of Pepys's *Diary* that men's clothing in particular became both drabber and more uniform. Part of this change can be explained by the need to inhibit too great a display of personality in public once clothes were read as self-expressive. The notices about clothes in Pepys's *Diary*, while having attention drawn to them by Braybrooke's editing, seem to touch a nerve in commentators. There is a degree of embarrassment at Pepys's interest in clothes, an interest a 'stronger' man might not even confess in a private journal. What suggests that they were unconscious of expressing a fundamental difference of attitude to clothing is that they place the blame on Pepys's personality, or position as a man climbing in the world, rather than seeing that men in general of Pepys's time wore, by nineteenth-century standards, far more ostentatious clothes. Furthermore, men's

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<sup>67</sup> Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*,. See chapter 8 "Personality in Public: New Images of the Body" and *passim*.

clothes were no less ostentatious than those of women. Applying the term unmanly to Pepys on these grounds is anachronistic.

## II.

In a footnote to a quotation from Macaulay's 1828 "History" essay regarding Hume, an essayist in a *Living Age* article (1844) says: "...we have no hesitation in affixing Mr. Macaulay's name to this admirable and in most respects incontrovertible essay".<sup>68</sup> The footnote then suggests the essay should be republished. The *Living Age* essay itself deserves some passing mention because it uses Hume as a yardstick for measuring the change in views of the past. The main aim of the essay entitled "Hume and his Influence on History", which runs to twenty-seven pages, is to criticise Hume's sceptical agnosticism. He is criticised on several fronts - as a scholar, for failing to distinguish between primary and secondary sources; as an interpreter of the past for showing the broad and general truths without going beneath the surface; and as a thinker, for being so bound by the standards of his own time and unable to step aside from eighteenth century judgments of the past. Once again, the surface-depth metaphor is employed to describe the shortcomings of eighteenth-century history: "Hume's historical muse is dressed à la Pompadour; she is so painted that you never see her true complexion; you never get deeper than the rouge and the fard. Hume, in his best moods, only fluttered about the truth; never sought to know it".<sup>69</sup> Macaulay's essay, which has obviously influenced this essay on Hume, is quoted for its condemnation of Hume's evasion of arguments that run counter to his own.

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<sup>68</sup> "Hume and the Influence of History", *Living Age*, Vol. 1, no. 3, June 1844. p.174 n.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.* p.169.

Macaulay published two significant essays in 1828, the one generally just known as "History" and the review of Henry Hallam's *The Constitutional History of England*. Both these essays demonstrate the twining of a number of strands of thought discussed in the first part of this chapter. Looking back from 1848, we can see Macaulay limbering up in these essays for his *magnum opus* by venturing into theory. It is noticeable that most of his theorising is directed towards how history should be written. But that is very much tied up with perspective. One of the features of the new historical-mindedness articulated by Macaulay and influencing readings of Pepys's *Diary*, was the desire to to 'see' the past, to make the past present, to get as close as possible to understanding how it felt to live in the past, rather than discussing the past in a more abstract, philosophical way.

In the essay called "History" which had been published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1828, Macaulay propounded a theory of history which placed a new emphasis on social history, on the inclusion of the daily life of "ordinary men as they appear in their ordinary business and their ordinary pleasures."<sup>70</sup> The tone and structure of the essay, beginning as it does with a ground-clearing survey of historiography from classical times to the present, suggest that Macaulay was arguing for a new historical epistemology, though as the first part of the chapter shows, he was not saying anything particularly new. Eighteenth-century historians have "been seduced from the truth, not by their imagination, but by their reason" and they distort facts to "suit general principles". To escape this trap, the historian needs to use a greater range of historical sources. The second desideratum for good history is that the writing itself

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<sup>70</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, "History" (May 1828) from *Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches*, (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1889.) p.156.



should show life and imagination. What he propounds, therefore, is less a theory of history, than a theory of historiography with an eye on the effect it will produce on readers. Writing history is not only a matter of sound research and truthful deductions, but of transmitting them in the most striking way:

History, it has been said, is philosophy teaching by examples. Unhappily, what the philosophy gains in soundness and depth the examples lose in vividness. A perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque.<sup>71</sup>

Later in 1828 Macaulay introduced his review of Henry Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* with a more confident assertion of what history should be:

History, at least in its state of ideal perfection, is a compound of poetry and philosophy. It impresses general truths on the mind by a vivid representation of particular characters and incidents. But, in fact, the two hostile elements of which it consists have never been known to form a perfect amalgamation; and at length, in our own time, they have been completely and professedly separated. Good histories, in the proper sense of the word, we have not. But we have good historical romances, and good historical essays.<sup>72</sup>

He goes on to make a statement which could stand as central to his own intentions as a historian:

To make the past present, to bring the distant near, to place us in the society of a great manor on the eminence which overlooks the field of a mighty battle, to invest with the reality of human flesh and blood beings whom we are too much inclined to consider as personified qualities in an allegory, to call up our ancestors before us with all their peculiarities of language, and garb, to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, to explain the uses of their ponderous

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<sup>71</sup> *ibid.* p.133.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Hallam" *Critical and Historical Essays*, Vol.1. (Longmans, Green and co., London, 1906. p. 113.

furniture, these parts of the duty which properly belongs to the historian have been appropriated by the historical novelist.<sup>73</sup>

The long, resonant chain of infinitives evinces both a longing for an almost tangible, but lost, past and the promise of its recovery: "To make ... to bring ... to place us ... to invest ... to call up ... to show us over ... to seat us ... to rummage ... to explain". Each echoes with "if only we could". Several things are striking about this passage. In the first place, the emphasis is on the visual presence of the past, which will lead to being able to explain it. Secondly, this ideal historian (who seems almost synonymous with the reader, both experiencing the same sensations) is a ghostly observer of the past, not a participant, seated at the table but not eating. The distant past so evoked is only proximate, near. It does not, as of course it cannot, afford the possibility of interaction. But this is an important point to observe, because Macaulay's essays articulate a longing to be in the presence of the past, but in a voyeuristic relationship with it. Because of this implied position of the observer, and the palpable visual and spatial dimensions of the passage, one meaning of 'to make the past present' seems to be that of commanding the past into our sight and has a dimension of pleasure attached to it. But its other meaning, to give the past meaning to our own time, functions as the justification for attempting to revivify the past.

Macaulay formulated a view of historiography that sought to correct this imbalance by understanding and conveying from the inside how it might have felt to *live* in the past. To do this the historian must appropriate the imaginative methods "usurped by fiction": "Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of

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<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*, pp.113-114.

manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line".<sup>74</sup>

Macaulay was at some pains to emphasise the need for the historian to look beyond politics, major events, wars, and all activities only conducted in the upper levels of society and to include the nation's domestic history. John Clive suggests that the force behind this view was the increasing push for democratisation:

Just as the poor were now becoming literate and educated, just as the middle ranks were advancing all along the line - so, too, their activities and style of life in the past were becoming altogether appropriate, indeed, essential subjects for the historian's pen. This does not mean that Macaulay himself desired political democracy. Far from it. It could be argued that it was because he did not that he realised how essential it was to make room to some extent - certainly in the past, if not in the present - for those who had been so long outside the historian's purview. Social history could play the role of social anodyne.<sup>75</sup>

In the face of a rapidly changing society Macaulay's appeals for history to enfranchise the lives of members of the "lower" orders seem to be aimed at a ruling class at risk of losing its power through blind self-interest and indifference to the well-being of the mass of the population, a position that is ideologically supported in part by maintaining the illusion that their history *is* history. Several of the reviews of the first edition of *Pepys*, most notably the *London Magazine*, the *Retrospective Review* and the *Westminster Review* evince similar opinions. *Pepys's Diary* shows the lives of ordinary people as well as those of the great. History, according to Macaulay, is not the chronicle of the upper classes, but the story of the progress of a nation:

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<sup>74</sup> "History", p.157.

<sup>75</sup> John Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay: the Shaping of the Historian* (Secker and Warburg, London, 1973.) p.104.



"The upper current of society presents no certain criterion by which we can judge of the direction in which the under current flows". Here we have the familiar trope. A history that concentrates on the upper current of events, Macaulay suggests, while true in its particulars, may "on the whole be false" if it is really to be a *national* history. The under current is necessary for the explanation of the whole. It is here, not in the actions of armies and the enactments of senates that the progress of nations occurs, but in the "noiseless revolutions" which are "carried on in every school, in every church, behind ten thousand counters, at ten thousand firesides". As with the reviews of Pepys and of Scott, Macaulay's pronouncements were made as if they were cutting a new edge against an older established view of history. So, if the progress of the nation is to be understood, and the noiseless revolutions amplified to audibility, new sources of information must be sought. In chapter two we saw how Isaac D'Israeli's interest in memoirs and diaries was criticised for its focus on trivialities. In 1828 Macaulay still sees this 'dignified' view of history prevailing. I suggested earlier that this view had become associated with aristocratic ideas. Macaulay makes such an association:

The writers of history seem to entertain an aristocratical contempt for the writers of memoirs. They think it beneath the dignity of men who describe the revolutions of nations to dwell on the details which constitute the charm of biography... The most characteristic and interesting circumstances are omitted or softened down, because, as we are told, they are too trivial for the majesty of history. The majesty of history seems to resemble the poor King of Spain who died a martyr to ceremony because the proper dignitaries were not at hand to render him assistance.<sup>76</sup>

In this, as with other parts of the essay, Macaulay expresses nothing that is particularly new, but his essays are a more sustained articulation of some

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<sup>76</sup> "History", p.158.

of the views expressed in the more progressive reviews. On the other side, it could also be said that the *Gentleman's Magazine* showed some aristocratical contempt for Pepys's *Diary* in its dismissal of it as having no historical value and so did Lord Braybrooke, with his rejection of the historical importance of trifling details.

Macaulay's formulations owed a great deal to Scott who, he claims has used those fragments of the past which history has "scornfully thrown behind". As a result, Scott's works are almost their equal *as* histories. As David Lowenthal has commented, for many readers at the time "the historical novel not only made history vivid; it was held a more trustworthy guide to the past." He goes on to quote Thackeray: "Out of the fictitious book I get the expression of the life of the time - the old times live again ... Can the heaviest historian do more for me?" While Macaulay's historical essays have some sense of political urgency about them - that is, there is a need to change the way we see the past if we are to understand the pressing needs of the present - he also shows a romanticised and nostalgic side to his historicism. In 1832 he wrote:

With a person of my turn ... the minute touches are of as great interest, and perhaps greater, than the most important events. Spending so much time as I do in solitude, my mind would have rusted by gazing vacantly at the shop windows. As it is, I am no sooner in the streets than I am in Greece, in Rome, in the midst of the French Revolution. Precision in dates, the day or hour in which a man was born or died, becomes absolutely necessary. A slight fact, a sentence, a word, are of importance in my romance. Pepys's *Diary* formed almost inexhaustible food for my fancy. I seem to know every inch of Whitehall. I go in at Hans Holbein's gate, and come out through the matted gallery.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Quoted in John Clive, p.263.

This immersion of his imagination in Pepys's *Diary* may help explain the anxiety expressed sixteen years later over the possibility of its forgery, once that imagination had become transmuted into the *History of England*.

Before leaving the discussion of Macaulay's "History" essay, I want to quote a passage which occurs near the end.. In it, Macaulay makes an analogy between historical reading and foreign travel: "The student like the tourist, is transported into a new state of society". But unless the traveller is willing to seek far and wide for experience, he may return with as contracted a mind as when he left.

In the same manner, men may know the dates of many battles and the genealogies of many royal houses, and yet be no wiser. Most people look at past times as princes look at foreign countries. More than one illustrious stranger has landed on our island amidst the shouts of a mob, has dined with the king, has hunted with the master of the stag-hounds, has seen the guards reviewed, and a knight of the garter installed, has cantered along Regent Street, has visited Saint Paul's, and noted down its dimensions; and has then departed thinking he has seen England. He has, in fact, seen a few public buildings, public men, and public ceremonies. But of the vast and complex system of society, of the fine shades of national character, of the practical operation of government and laws, he knows nothing. He who would understand these things rightly must not confine his observations to palaces and solemn days. He must see ordinary men as they appear in their ordinary business and in their ordinary pleasures. He must mingle in the crowds of the exchange and the coffee house. He must obtain admittance to the convivial table and the domestic hearth. He must bear with vulgar expressions. He must not shrink from exploring even the retreats of misery. He who wishes to understand the condition of mankind in former ages must proceed on the same principle.<sup>78</sup>

There are several notable features in this passage. In the first place there is an unambiguous association of a restrictive view of history with the limited view of society by those who occupy its top positions. Secondly,

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<sup>78</sup> "History", p.157.



the analogy with travel works in such a way that when 'historian' is substituted for 'traveller', the effect is one in which the historian wanders around in the past, experiencing it as if he were there. "He must mingle in the crowd of the exchange and the coffee house". Moreover this sense of the past 'as a foreign country' historicises the whole of past society as culturally different. In the review of Scott discussed above, Nassau Senior, suggests that the eyewitness narrator of the past must be like a traveller, not like a native, because to the traveller the sights are new and fresh, as they must be to the reader. We can notice in both Senior and Macaulay that this traveller-observer is in the presence of the past while maintaining the advantages of detachment. The idea of the traveller into the past is a useful perspective from which to open up new areas of the past to Macaulay's progressivist history. Importantly, there is the sense in both that there is a real past which the curious traveller can experience sensually.

But there is something else in the passage from Macaulay closer to the subject of this study. It is Pepys, the narrator of the *Diary*, who mingles in the crowds of the exchange and the coffee-house, who observes and writes. Macaulay's essays were written three years after the first publication of Pepys's *Diary* and in the same year as the publication of the second edition. Remembering that he states four years later that the *Diary* provided "almost inexhaustible food" for his imagination, we can begin to speculate that some of what he writes in the essays has Pepys in mind and appears to be conditioned by a reading of Pepys's *Diary*.

The last part of Scott's review of Pepys's *Diary* introduces a description of which may well have influenced Macaulay.

If quitting the broad path of history we seek for minute information concerning ancient manners and customs, the progress of arts and sciences, and the various branches of antiquity, we have never seen

a mine so rich as the volumes before us. The variety of Pepys's tastes and pursuits led him into almost every department of life.<sup>79</sup>

For the remaining six pages of the review Scott does the rounds of the variety of contents in Pepys's *Diary*. The reader, Scott says, will be treated to descriptions of food, playgoing, musical events, scientific discoveries, antique scandal, voyagers' tales, and so on. Scott, like Macaulay, has an eye for the picturesque in the past. As with the above quotation from Macaulay where he seeks the experience of the traveller mingling at the exchange, or the coffee-house, the convivial table and the domestic hearth, in similarly cadenced prose, Scott also seeks the picturesque variety of experience of the past to be had in Pepys's *Diary*.

Rosemary Jann suggests that Macaulay "consciously shaped" the historical tastes of the Victorian middle class. "His startling literary success", she adds, "argues that his vision of history satisfied powerful and widely felt needs even for those who fully acknowledged his limitations".<sup>80</sup> Not only was Macaulay's *History* a phenomenal success, but John Clive notes that his republished essays "became one of the greatest best-sellers of the century".<sup>81</sup> Clive notes that the essays should be read as occasional pieces, which were "written quickly and not intended by their author to live for more than a brief period".<sup>82</sup> Macaulay himself resisted their republication. We should not, therefore, read the essays dealing with history as part of a systematic attempt to articulate a theory of history. However, it would seem fair to assume from the evidence that the popularity of his essays, as with the *History*, was based

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<sup>79</sup> *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 33, 1826. pp. 308-309.

<sup>80</sup> Rosemary Jann, *The art and Science of Victorian History* (Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1985) p.66

<sup>81</sup> John Clive, p. 104.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*

on the coherent and rhetorically striking articulation of needs and ideas already in circulation. It does no discredit to Macaulay to say that he articulated what "oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed". Owen Edwards suggests that Macaulay's essays should be regarded as "finger-exercises" in which he was pondering questions with "more informality and less assurance than his bold strokes of creative and critical writing imply".<sup>83</sup>

As the first section of this chapter showed, ideas about history in the first three decades of the century were in a state of flux. While Pepys's *Diary* was welcomed by many as a contribution to the new vision of the past, there were still dissenting voices. After Macaulay's "History" and "Hallam" essays, that dissent did not entirely drop away (as criticisms of Macaulay's own *History* show) but there was a greater degree of agreement amongst those who supported Romantic historicism. I do not suggest that Macaulay was responsible for this agreement, rather that he articulated his ideas at a time and in a way that would allow them to "take". The association of his ideas with Scott's novelistic practice at a time when Scott's popularity was at a peak must have assisted his own popularity. In this sense, despite their occasional nature, the essays began to condition readers to an acceptance of the *History*. I want to claim that one of the spinoffs of this was that they also helped to condition the reception Braybrooke's third edition received in 1848.

Before moving to 1848, I want to have a quick look at some comments about history and historical novels made after the publication of Macaulay's essays and before the publication of his *History*. In the last chapter I briefly mentioned the two articles which immediately preceded Croker's exposure of the fake *Mémoires de Louis XIII*, Lockhart's review of

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<sup>83</sup> Owen Dudley Edwards, *Macaulay*, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1988) p.90.



Morier's *Zohrab the Hostage* and Milman's review of James's *History of Charlemagne*. I commented that these three reviews are interesting when taken together because each of them shows the centrality of historical thinking to the times. Each contains comments about the nature of history and the meaning of its embodiment in different genres. Also, the reviews themselves go to some lengths to provide historical information from sources other than from the books under review. In this way they are themselves short historical essays. Furthermore, we see genres being distinguished and assessed against one another, *within the field of history*. All these texts are discussed with a degree of seriousness in terms of history. In the light of the discussion in this chapter it is interesting to revisit those articles. I have already discussed Croker's review of the fake memoirs at some length. Lockhart's review of *Zohrab the Hostage*, as I indicated, is compared as a history of Iran with Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*. The former contains nothing that "the student of the History is entitled to say *could not have been*".<sup>84</sup> So from the beginning, the review accepts the possibility that historical novels, by the use of imagination, can evoke historical probability. Also, in this review, we find a variation on the idea of the past as a foreign country, where the historian is the traveller and observer. What Lockhart suggests is that if Morier "touches on persons and events of nearly his own day, distance of place serves him and his reader instead of distance of time".<sup>85</sup> This is not unlike Macaulay's use of the same figure. *Difference*, both suggest, between the past and the present, or between the culture of another country and our own *in the present*, can be observed in the same way. The further distant in time, as

<sup>84</sup> *Quarterly Review*. Vol. XLVII no. XCVI, December, 1832, p.393.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.* pp.396-397.

with *Ivanhoe*, the greater the difference, the further distant geographically, the greater the difference. England, in the present, is the measure of both.

Milman finds fault with James's *History of Charlemagne* on the grounds that it sometimes betrays the "haste and incorrectness" of historical novels, whereas in other places the work lacks the picturesqueness of a historical novel. Milman compares two possible ways of looking at the past. One views it from the moral standpoint of present Christian enlightenment and finds it barbarous, the other attempts to see the actions of the past in the context of the social and political conditions which then existed. The former point of view, represented by Gibbon, gives "philosophic commentaries on the history of Charlemagne's reign rather than its history".<sup>86</sup> I pointed out earlier that in the first three decades of the century, "history" tended to be used as an understood term. It meant "the history we have been used to". This history was beginning to be assailed. What we can see beginning to happen after about the mid-1820s is that although for at least another twenty years, the doctrine of the dignity of history was still being used as a target, a new way of describing it came into being. Rather than just being called "history", it began, as here in this review, to be called "philosophic history". Milman concludes that while this kind of history has its place "unless due regard is paid to the predominant character of each age of civilization", the great actors in history, and human nature under its different circumstances, cannot be "deduced from the lessons of history".

Both these reviews distinguish generic requirements. The historical novel, Lockhart says, should not pretend to be the autobiography of a real historical personage, but use fictitious characters in an imagined past which nevertheless *might* have been. That is its historical reality. Milman

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<sup>86</sup> *ibid.* p.426.

claims that the kind of history attempted by James, while borrowing techniques from the historical novels, should conform to the standards of scholarship required of serious history. Nevertheless, these are discriminations made on common ground.

In the same year, 1832, Lister's article reviewing the republication of a number of Scott's works demonstrates a great deal of concordance with Macaulay. Lister claims that before Scott, texts included in the category of historical fiction simply availed themselves of historical names and incidents, giving to their characters the manners and sentiments of the present. Unlike the historical novel in the hands of Scott "they evinced no endeavour to breathe into it the spirit of history ... the manners, habits, feelings, phraseology, and allusions of other times and other countries were set at nought". We are in danger, he goes on, of losing sight of Scott's originality in this area as a result of the number of his imitators. As quoted earlier in the chapter, Lister claimed that we want the kind of history which gives us the manners and conditions of the people of the past as if "we had been among them". History has everything to learn from the historical novelist he says in a passage which has strong echoes of Macaulay's "noiseless revolutions":

Great changes in the conditions and opinion of a people will silently and gradually take place, unmarked by any signal event; whilst events the most striking, and apparently important, will glitter and vanish like bubbles in the sun, and leave no visible trace of their effect. History has been hitherto too prone to note with eagerness only the latter; - avoiding as if with disdain, the more difficult, honourable, and useful task, of tracing the progress of the former. History is, in truth, the biography of a nation; and a history which neglects, as unworthy of its dignity, the combination of both these requirements is as inferior in interest and utility to a history which possesses then, as a biography containing only the public



actions of a great man, is less desirable than one which admits us to partake of his conversation and opinions.<sup>87</sup>

Scott's novels show us how history should be written by combining materials drawn from different sources and giving us "pictures of past days". As well as showing us the importance of penetrating "below that surface on which float the great events and pageants" Lister implies, as Lockhart had done in 1826, that Scott's novels are responsible for a renewed interest in primary historical sources: "never has the press been more fertile than during the last ten years in this species of agreeable lore - in memoirs, diaries, and letters ... An increasing appetite for this species of knowledge has called forth stores, of which the worth has never been sufficiently appreciated till now."<sup>88</sup>

In 1836 in a review of *Irish Priests and English Landlords*, the reviewer in *Blackwood's* says that the historical novelist lays "open to our view" scenes and events which show us how we ourselves might behave under circumstances very dissimilar to our own. Also, any work of fiction which gives us a description of the :manners, modes of thinking and acting of any large class of a community in a given period, is historical".<sup>89</sup> Also in *Blackwood's* (1844) in a review of *The Heretic*, a historical novel set in Russia, the reviewer declares that "the great attraction of historical prose fiction" has less to do with the value of its story-telling, or its historical factuality, than with "the occasion it gives for making us familiar with the everyday life of the age and the country in which the scene is laid".<sup>90</sup> Novels help us to understand "man's condition" which "history

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<sup>87</sup> T.H. Lister, "Tales of My Landlord", *Edinburgh Review*, Vol.LV. no. CIX, April, 1832. p.78.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* p.79.

<sup>89</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine* Vol 39, May 1836 p.690.

<sup>90</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine* Vol 55, Feb. 1844. p.136.

does not deign to record". These opinions, which were more contested in the earlier period around the first publication of Pepys's *Diary* discussed at the beginning of this chapter, had become almost commonplace opinions. Real history had to contain everyday life, not just a chronicle of events. It should enable us to see the past as if we were living in it.

### III.

In the last part of this chapter I want to bring the discussion back to the period of Macaulay's dream and discuss responses to Macaulay's *History* and to Braybrooke's third edition of Pepys's *Diary*. The intention is not to discuss the merits of Macaulay's work, but to draw out elements of the reception of the *History* which are relevant to an understanding of the reception of Pepys's *Diary*.

J.W.Croker produced the most significant adverse review of Macaulay's *History*, but had at first turned down Lockhart's request to write it, suggesting to Lockhart that he find someone less opposed to Macaulay. In his review, Croker maintained the kind of distinction seen in chapter two between a proper, authoritative, dignified history and a more trivial history. Before reading Macaulay fully, he wrote to Lockhart:

I should like to distinguish History properly so-called, from history moralized or dramatized as by Shakespeare and Scott, or made anecdotal like, as I presume from the extracts, Macaulay's. History should be a statue, cold, colourless, if you will, but giving the limbs and features, the forms and the dimensions with unalterable, severe mechanical exactness; and not a picture to be coloured to the artist's eye, to be seen in a particular light, and to be helped out with the accessories of detail selected not for truth but for effect. I admit that such pictorial history is more amusing; but does it really give you a truer view of the state of things?<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Quoted in Myron F. Brightfield, *John Wilson Croker*, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1940) pp.370-371.

Brightfield comments that what is most striking about this is the way Croker grasped the "basic question raised by such a production as Macaulay's - that of history *versus* historical fiction".<sup>92</sup> Although he moderated his opinion to some degree in his review he wrote to Murray suggesting that what Macaulay has written is a "species of *carnival* history". He criticises the third chapter, suggesting that what Macaulay sees as specific to the state of England in 1685 could apply equally well to England anywhere between 1650 and 1750.<sup>93</sup> In the review, Croker accuses Macaulay of taking his design from the author of *Waverley*. The historical novel, he adds, has taken hold of the public over the last twenty years and the press has since "groaned with [Scott's] imitators". Macaulay's work is partisan and lacks objectivity. Moreover it has a large "embroidery of personal, social, and even topographical anecdote and illustration, instead of the sober garb in which we had been in the habit of seeing it". Despite his hostility, Croker recognises the qualities which differentiate Macaulay's work as novel. His evaluation of these qualities runs completely against the popular grain, however.

Declaring himself an "old Tory" and therefore opposed to many of Macaulay's conclusions, Archibald Alison nevertheless found a lot to admire in Macaulay's *History*. He thinks that overall, Macaulay is one-sided, cries up the present at the expense of the past and is not sufficiently selective among important and unimportant information. Alison sustains a pictorial metaphor throughout his review and finds that Macaulay often crams too much into the picture. But, despite the fact that it, too, is biased, he praises the third chapter:

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<sup>92</sup> *ibid.* p.372.

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.* p.373.



One of the most interesting and original parts of Mr. Macaulay's work is the account he has given, in the first volume, of the manners, customs and habits of the people, and state of society in England, prior to the revolution, compared with what now exists. In doing so, he has only exemplified what, in his admirable essay on history in the *Edinburgh Review*, he has described as a leading object in that species of composition; and it must be confessed that his example tends greatly to show the truth of his precept. This part of his work is learned, laborious, elaborate, and in the highest degree amusing. It is also, in many respects, and in no ordinary degree, instructive. But it has the same fault as the other part of his work - it is *one-sided*.<sup>94</sup>

Owen Edwards quotes from Macaulay's Introduction where he says "I will cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors". Edwards comments that as a result Macaulay was "condemned for trivialisation by writers as various as the vengeful Croker and the judicious Lingard. His readers seemed to have loved it."<sup>95</sup> What the detractors indicate is that whether they liked it or not, Macaulay had achieved his aim.

Two reviewers who did love the history were those writing in *Fraser's Magazine* the *Edinburgh Review*. In the first of these the reviewer suggests that Macaulay adds nothing to our knowledge of the period but by "the manner in which the various facts are combined, the mode in which they are illustrated and commented on, a new picture is produced".<sup>96</sup> As with most of the reviews, Macaulay's writing is described here in pictorial terms: "Picture after picture came and went in quick succession, all brilliant, all attractive".<sup>97</sup> In the *Edinburgh Review* which is a review of the fourth edition of volumes one and two, the review

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<sup>94</sup> Archibald Alison, *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol. 65.. April 1849. p.402

<sup>95</sup> Owen Edwards p.133

<sup>96</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol.39, 1849. p.16.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid*.

opens with a statement of Macaulay's popularity: within six months the *History* has sold 18,000 copies. Even political antagonists are impressed by it, the reviewer suggests. Again the review recurs to pictorial analogies, which brings out elements of the past never seen before. One praiseworthy feature of the work is that it shows how a "true story may be, and should be, as agreeably told as a fictitious one".<sup>98</sup> Unlike what it regards as more intellectual histories, in this history "the scene is actually before us":

We have pictured to ourselves the living and actual reality of the men, and the times, and the actions he describes, - and close the volume as if a vast and glowing pageant had just past before our eyes. And *are* they not all visibly present? The turbid, haughty, unimpressible, and vindictive monarch, the very tread of his imperious step, and the sound of his impatient voice ...<sup>99</sup>

With respect to the third chapter, the reviewer affirms the rightness of the approach by suggesting that anyone writing a history of England since 1815 would have to take account of the social changes - the spread of education, the penny postage, railroad travelling, and the electric telegraph all of which will more permanently affect the habits and conditions of the people than even the reform Bill, Catholic Emancipation, or the Abolition of the Corn Laws. If we recognise the importance of these "noiseless revolutions" in the present century, then any real history of the past must include an assessment of general social conditions. In the third chapter, Macaulay has conveyed to his readers "an impression of the domestic and everyday life of those times, in comparison with that of our own".<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 90, July 1849. p.251.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.* p.252

<sup>100</sup> *ibid.* p.253

The *Westminster Review* suggested that Macaulay had chosen to take up his pen when "the attention of all thinking men is more than usually directed to the lessons of history, with the hope of gathering from the past, in the midst of the anxieties of a most eventful period, some implications of a probable future".<sup>101</sup> Undoubtedly 1848 was a significant year to be publishing a major history which claimed to enfranchise ordinary men and women. This review article, which is called "Lessons of Revolutions", also comprehends *Three Months in Power* by Alphonse de Lamartine and *Memoirs of Citizen Caussidière, ex-prefect of Police*. Of these last the reviewer comments that "the assigned causes [of the 1848 revolution] are not adequate to the effect. We must look for them, not on the political surface of society, but in the principles which form the present foundation of all our social relations".<sup>102</sup> Macaulay has attempted to dig beneath the surface, but he does not come up with any satisfactory solutions. His philosophy and his narrative are unable to explain the apparent inconsistencies in the behaviour of the English in their changes of government. Macaulay does not explore changes of opinion in terms of "a national impulse". He only gives the opinions of religious sects and politicians.

The following two passages come from *Sharp's London Magazine* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* respectively. Both were published in 1848:

(Passage 1.) The historians, the philosophers, the poets of ancient Rome, afford us but a faint insight into the great human heart pulsating in their age. The heroes and magnates are placed before us, we are introduced to *their* feasts, informed of *their* pursuits, and shown how *they* felt and acted; but the people were long lost

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<sup>101</sup> *Westminster Review*, Vol.50, 1849 p.516.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.* p. 530.



to us: we looked in vain for any faithful and distinct records of their habits and customs, domestic economy and social relations.<sup>103</sup>

(Passage 2.) ...everything which exhibits the manners and condition of a people, - which lets us into a knowledge of how they lived, and ate and drank, and spent their time, - which tells us what books they read, what sermons they heard, what plays they saw, what pictures they admired, what changes came over their opinions, customs fashions, or amusements, - is history; aye, and far more important and instructive history than the minutest narrative of the actions of royal or noble persons in which historical writers ever indulged.<sup>104</sup>

Neither of these passages belongs to a review of Macaulay's *History* though both sound remarkably like those reviews. In fact, they both come from reviews of the third edition of Pepys's *Diary*. *Sharp's London Magazine* goes on to say that the discovery of the ruined cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii suddenly opened up the lives of ordinary Romans. "Loud voices and busy footsteps again resounded in their streets ... we learnt how men really worked and thought, felt, hoped and feared in the olden time".<sup>105</sup> The writer goes on to describe some of the contents to be found in the frozen moment of the ruined cities. The emphasis is less on the new information afforded by the discovery, than on the vivid way in which it is presented. Like the illusion of the snapshot, it gives the sense of authenticity because it is an image of the real thing.

Likening Pepys's *Diary* to the discovery of another Herculaneum the reviewer continues by suggesting that more people derive their knowledge of the past from Shakespeare and Scott, than from 'legitimate' historians (among whom he includes Macaulay). "And why? Because [historians] exhibit little more than a fleshless skeleton - plain, dry facts -

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<sup>103</sup> *Sharp's London Magazine* Vol. 8, November, 1848-February 1849. pp.62-63.

<sup>104</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 31, Jan - June 1849. p.162.

<sup>105</sup> *Sharp's London Magazine*, p.63.

only the most prominent points fix themselves in our memory; whilst [Shakespeare and Scott] conjure up the people of old, *living and acting in our presence*, and not mere objects of vague conjecture or curious inquiry."<sup>106</sup> (Emphasis added.) The quotation from the *Gentleman's Magazine* is flanked with comments denigrating Lord Braybrooke's old-fashioned concepts of historical value. Yet this had been the magazine that had said of the first edition that it thought little of the historical value of Pepys's *Diary*. The point here is that both reviews tap into the same overall historical outlook put forward by Macaulay. The emphasis is on being in the presence of the everyday life of the past.

The reviewer in the *Dublin University Magazine* similarly said in the introductory paragraph that by reading memoirs from the seventeenth century "We begin to understand - nay *to participate in* - the passions that divided society in the days of the Charleses and the Jameses."<sup>107</sup> Again, in respect of Pepys, there is an emphasis on seeing: "We see the interior of courts and cabinets in a way in which it was not given to the historians".<sup>108</sup>

The *Examiner* opened its review of the third edition by taking issues with Braybrooke's statement concerning the overestimation on the part of some readers of the historical worth of the domestic details. Comparing the old and new editions, the reviewer finds that "upwards of a third of the volume is entirely new". And what Braybrooke has added is mostly of "private and domestic matters' which, the reviewer continues, constitutes the work's "charm, and even, with deference to Lord Braybrooke - their 'historical value'".<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, Volume XXXIV, November, 1849. p.612.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> From the *Examiner* in *Living Age* Vol 19, 1848. p.196.

In the light of his dream, Macaulay himself must have been relieved by the review of Pepys's *Diary* in the *Edinburgh Magazine*. I quoted a passage from this review in the second chapter where the reviewer suggested that if history is concerned with wars, treaties, speeches, proclamations or debates, then Pepys's *Diary* is of little value, but if it is to inform us of the "customs, habits and opinions of our forefathers; to give a real and lively notion of the days in which they lived" then Pepys's *Diary* is to be highly valued in historical terms. He would be "everything to a Macaulay, but nothing to a Smollett". This is an interesting statement in that it suggests a recognition that an appreciation of Pepys's *Diary* is the result of nineteenth-century historicism. The comparison between Macaulay and Smollett is not unlike Robert Louis Stevenson's comparison between Scott and Fielding. In both cases, the nineteenth-century writers are perceived to have an understanding of the importance of the specific historical contexts in which people live and act.

The final paragraph of the review makes the link between Macaulay and Pepys more explicit. In terms of Macaulay's dream, this could be interpreted in two ways. It could be reassuring in the sense that if the dream exposes a concern over his historical judgments as based on primary sources such as Pepys, then he is safe. If, however, his fear really is about the authenticity of Pepys's *Diary* then his work is too deeply implicated:

A great historian has recently drawn a picture of England as it stood at the close of [Charles II's] reign - the accuracy of which has been impeached in some quarters - chiefly on the ground of its giving too unfavourable a view of the morality, happiness, and civilization of our society at that time. Now there are very few of the propositions maintained by the historian which do not receive the most complete and thorough confirmation from the contents of the extraordinary chronicle before us ... Let any person desirous



of ascertaining the truth by his own observation, attentively study the contents of these five volumes. He will not find the task in any great respect a disagreeable one, and if he exerts only an average amount of judgment and sagacity, he will need little aid in deciding the question at issues between Mr. Macaulay and his censors.<sup>110</sup>

This passage suggests that Pepys provides a kind of transparent reality which puts the reader in the position of judging for him or herself.

Reviews of the third editions of Pepys's *Diary*, unlike those of the first, show that readers have found a vocabulary for describing the historical value of the text, and that that vocabulary has been conditioned by all the debates in the intervening period about history, whether it be about history proper, historical fiction or fake memoirs. That vocabulary meant talking about the past as if it were visible; it meant talking about the daily life of the people; it meant giving a sense of being in the presence of the past. "We have pictured to ourselves the living and actual reality of the men, and the times: and are they not all visibly present"; "we see the inside of courts and cabinets"; "Picture after picture came and went"; "the people were long lost to us: we looked in vain for any faithful or distinct records"; "everything which exhibits the manners and conditions of a people ... is history". These are snatches of the above reviews of both Macaulay's *History* and the third edition of Pepys's *Diary*. Although views of history were already beginning to change, at this point, Pepys's *Diary* had been brought within the same field of vision as Macaulay's Romantic-historicist *History*. The text had been made historically intelligible.

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<sup>110</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 90. October, 1849. pp.554-559.

## CONCLUSION.

### THE MAN ON THE CLAPHAM OMNIBUS.

You ask me what was his intent?  
In truth I can't conjecture  
Tis plain enough he neither meant  
A Sermon nor a Lecture.

But there it is, the thing's a fact  
I find no other reason  
But that some scribbling itch attacked  
Him in and out of season.<sup>1</sup>

Writing of the unveiling of the monument to Pepys in the diarist's old parish church of St Olave's on 18 March, 1884, George Smalley (quoted in the Introduction) suggests that the reason Emerson praised Pepys's *Diary* as the "best history of England extant", was because Pepys wrote the "most minute, most lifelike, most delightful record in existence of the life lived by the people of England, high and low, during ten years of the period when Pepys himself lived".<sup>2</sup> At least part of Emerson's reason for saying this seems to have been that much of what Pepys wrote undermined the hitherto prevailing court, or official, version of history and that it was therefore truer.<sup>3</sup> Reporting on the unveiling, *The Times*

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<sup>1</sup> Austin Dobson, "To E[dmund] G[osse] on Pepys's Diary", read by Gosse at the annual Pepys dinner at Magdalene College, Cambridge, 23 February, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> George Smalley, *London Letters and Some Others*, Vol.2 (Macmillan. London, 1890) p.502.

<sup>3</sup> Emerson seems to have been a keen reader of Pepys's *Diary*. His Journals indicate that he had borrowed the 1825 edition in 1838 from the Boston Atheneum and again in 1854. There are numerous references to Pepys, one of which corroborates Smalley's surmise. Emerson writes: "Lord Hervey, Pepys, Clarendon, Ld. Chesterfield, Commines, Wraxall show up the aristocracy; - that is a gang of rich thieves, instead of a gang of poor thieves" L. Allardt and D.W. Hill (Eds.) *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* Vol XV, 1860-1866 (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1982) p.41. Also see Vol VI, 1824-1838(ed. R.H. Orth, 1966)p.347 and n.88; Vol VIII, 1841-1843(ed. W.H. Gilman and J.E. Parsons, 1970) p.554 and n.19 and Vol. XIII, 1852-1855 (ed. R.H.Orth and A.R. Ferguson, 1977) pp 329, 338, 368, 359-362, for references to reading Pepys's *Diary* and for quotes from it and comments about it.

said that those acquainted with the work of Pepys must be "astonished that no monument or memorial had been raised to him ... until the present time".<sup>4</sup> The article reports the speech of Mr. Lowell who said that "Pepys was a type perhaps, of what was now called a 'Philistine'". There was, he continued, no word in English the equivalent of the French *bourgeois* - "but ... Samuel Pepys was the most perfect type that ever existed of the class of people whom this word described".<sup>5</sup> Lowell's speech (as reported) goes on to suggest that whether or not Pepys had intended to leave the *Diary* to posterity it was certain that "he had left behind him the power in our hands of drawing for ourselves some of the most delightful pictures of the time in which he lived".<sup>6</sup> The Diary's historical value, according to Lowell, is that it enables us to see the London of 200 years ago through the eyes of Pepys. It could be added that the erection of the monument and its accompanying ceremony constituted a very Victorian affirmation of the rise in Pepys's fame since the publication of the *Diary* in 1825.

After the appearance of the third edition, there was no doubt as to the text's historical value and it began to be spoken about as a history in its own right. One of Mynors Bright's correspondents wrote in 1877, after getting a copy of the fourth volume, that in itself the *Diary* is "a wonderful history of England for the time."<sup>7</sup> In 1825, at best, it had been seen as an adjunct to history. But, perhaps contradictorily, as it came to be accepted historically, the emphasis on its interpretation changed. History itself changed in the second half of the century. The vogue for the historical

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<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, 19 March, 1884. p.6.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Edward Waters to Mynors Bright, 16 July, 1877. PL MBP I.



novel declined after 1848<sup>8</sup> and history moved into its 'scientific' phase. Interest in Pepys's *Diary* shifted to more 'a-historical' aspects and the intense interest in private lives and public masks in the late century is reflected in the fascination with Pepys's self-revelations. In the second half of the century, "when all mankind that haunted night, had sought their household fires", domestic life which, as we have seen, began to be included in history in the first half of the century, became a refuge from history and public life.

This change of emphasis might easily be seen as a response to both the Mynors Bright edition and the Wheatley edition which included so much more personal material than even Braybrooke's expanded editions. Yet a few scattered comments suggest that a shift had already begun before the Mynors Bright edition appeared. In the *Edinburgh Review* article quoted at the end of the last chapter for the way it illustrates a confluence of ideas with regard to Macaulay's *History* and Pepys's *Diary*, there is a telling sentence where the reviewer suggests that perhaps Pepys's text is, in the end, more "personal than historical". The *Encyclopedia Britannica* carried its first notice of Pepys in the eighth edition of 1859, the same edition which carried the new definition of history discussed in the last chapter. What it confirms is the *kind* of historical interest established by

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<sup>8</sup> See James C. Simmons *The Novelist as Historian* (Mouton, The Hague, 1973) pp. 57-58: 'No longer were people accepting of the original premise that readers could learn history through the historical romance, no matter how carefully researched the work may be. The genre, in a word, ceased to be a rival to history, both in theory and in practice. In the late 1850s and the 1860s the ascendancy of the historiographic methods of Germanic scientific scholarship was secured, as Freeman, Stubbs, and Green began publishing. The earlier forms of literary historiography came under increasingly heavy critical attack as the amateur historian gave way to the professional'. Avrom Fleishman, *The English Historical Novel*, pp. 149-150. makes the significant observation that in the historical novels of the second half of the nineteenth century, the combination of 'great events with the drama of the individual's response to those events' which had characterised the historical fiction of the early part of the century, underwent a change of balance so that the inner life of the individual 'assumes an autonomy that turns historical circumstance into a background or frame'.

the third edition of Pepys's *Diary* : "There is perhaps no book, either in our own, or in any other language, which presents such lively and truthful delineations of the society and manners of a former age. The *Diary* of Pepys is invaluable as a history of the court and times of Charles II."<sup>9</sup> Around the 1820s and 1830s, as I have indicated in earlier chapters, the sudden rise in the publication of diaries and memoirs from the past led to a belief that civil history would be rewritten. Pepys's *Diary*, though more popular than most, was seen to be one of many. As the century wore on, Pepys's *Diary* began to be seen as unique, standing above all the others. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* concludes that as well as for its 'historical' interest, Pepys's *Diary* is "unquestionably the most interesting book of its kind in existence" because of its details of domestic life and personal experience.<sup>10</sup> In the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* published in 1884, the year of the unveiling of the monument at St. Olave's, Osmond Airy, like Mr. Lowell, suggested that Pepys's *Diary* showed the "social state and daily life of the bourgeois class".<sup>11</sup> In the second half of the century, the historical importance of the text began to be expressed in slightly different terminology which, reflected both changed perceptions and real social changes. The reason for calling this conclusion "The Man on the Clapham Omnibus" is that besides the diarist's own retirement to Clapham, he was consistently called a bourgeois public servant towards the end of the century. No such description of him could have been made at the beginning of the century. As we saw, the struggle over the text's trifling details, was also a struggle over history itself, over whose lives belonged in the historical record, over class and elitism. The idea of the bourgeoisie was coming in to being.

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<sup>9</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol XVII, Eighth Edition (1859) p.405.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XVIII, Ninth Edition (1884) p.521.

James Hannay in his *A Course in English Literature* (1866) elevated history to the highest form of literature. Hannay rehearsed many of the opinions expressed in the last chapter suggesting that history had gone through the "most remarkable change" and is still "changing before our eyes".<sup>12</sup> The best way of reading history is to "enter each epoch" looking at the past "from its own point of view".<sup>13</sup> He warns against "philosophical historians" encouraging readers to read "*in* past times, rather than *about* past times". Hume, he claims, wrote "sham-philosophical history". In his notice of Pepys's *Diary*, Hannay suggests that what interests the world about Pepys is the "exposition of himself" and that "Pepys's *Diary* is all but unique as a specimen of this, and hence its reality".<sup>14</sup> Pepys's text has the kind of realism which presents the people he lived among "bodily", as if in a museum. Evelyn's *Diary* should also be read by anyone interested in the period, but although Evelyn was a more "fine-minded and learned gentleman" his *Diary* will never be as attractive as that represented by the "homely realism" of Pepys.<sup>15</sup> Hannay's writing is merely symptomatic of the times and many of his ideas had become commonplaces. But because of that he expresses the large shift that had occurred in thinking about history from the eighteenth century to the Victorian era. He also indicates the degree to which Pepys's *Diary* had been assimilated by that shift and shows how the text was beginning to be appreciated, anachronistically, for its middle-class domesticity.

One more pre-Mynors Bright notice of Pepys's *Diary* also shows that the centre of interest was changing towards the private and the

<sup>12</sup> James Hannay, *A Course in English Literature*, (London, 1866) p.25.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p.130.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* p.131.



domestic, and towards self-revelation and the text's uniqueness. The *Temple Bar* (1870) asks "Is the world sufficiently grateful to Mr. Samuel Pepys, F.R.S., for that little book which he wrote just 200 years ago?"<sup>16</sup> The writer divides the text's attractions into three parts, the last of which indicates the direction interpretations of Pepys's *Diary* were beginning to take: it contributes to the history of an eventful period; it is a picture of the manners of the time; and it is "the anatomy" of a human heart, "full of vigorous pulsation, laid bare for our keenest examination".<sup>17</sup> The voyeurism of this is unmistakable. Towards the end of the century the assertion of the privacy of composition was as great as it had been in the earlier part of the century, but it went along with statements like this which suggested that Pepys revealed (to us the readers) aspects of his inner life few others would dare to admit even to themselves. This writer concludes that the historical merits of the text are "quite eclipsed" by its value as a "picture of the manners of the time" and as a "psychological study".<sup>18</sup> The use of the word 'psychology' is new in the vocabulary of Pepysian interpretation. That it is called a "psychological study" also places the reader in the position of detached analyst. Following this there is a long analogy made between an anatomist investigating a living human stomach and Pepys's *Diary*. This article represents one of the first examples of a type of comment about Pepys's *Diary* common from this time to around the beginning of World War I. Pre-dating the publication of Mynors Bright's edition of Pepys's *Diary* by a few years, this article shows that new ways of looking at the text were already beginning to take shape. There is no reason not to believe that the Mynors Bright edition and the Wheatley edition were themselves responses to changing cultural

<sup>16</sup> *Temple Bar*, Volume XXX, November, 1870. p.236.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* 242-243.

conditions, even if their publication was justified on the "scholarly" grounds of producing a final, or complete text.

The introductions to two selections of passages from Pepys's *Diary* confirm the trend. In *Excerpts from the Diary of Samuel Pepys* (1889) Horace Pym suggests that Pepys wrote in a "doubly-involved short-hand character, undecipherable, as he fondly hoped, to anyone save himself and he would have been terribly mortified and astounded had he seen that these his innermost and secret thoughts, actions and opinions, should ever be conned by mortal eye".<sup>19</sup> It is *because* of the secrecy, Pym avers, that the text obtains its "absolute value" as a "vivid picture" of Restoration life and "unsparing truth". It is also because of its secrecy that it is a "marvellous, because unconscious, self-analysis and laying bare of the man's inner self".<sup>20</sup> Pym states that he has deliberately excluded the political aspects of the diary in favour of the private and domestic. Another selection, published six years earlier, *Peeps into Pepys' Diary* (1883) divides the text's attraction into two areas: it gives "vivid glimpses" into the political life of the time and a "study of character in [Pepys's] own personality".<sup>21</sup> Small as the selection is, the preface suggests, it offers passages which illustrate these two sides of the text.

The following lengthy quotation from an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* (reprinted in *The Living Age*) significantly called "The Man Pepys", written by W.L. Watson, is perfectly representative of the general trend in commentary on Pepys's *Diary* at the end of the century. The article opens by suggesting that it is generally only in fiction that we are afforded the pleasure of seeing the private actions and motives of other

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<sup>19</sup> *Excerpts from the Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited with an introduction by Horace N. Pym, (Ballantyne, Hanson and Co., 1889) p.x.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Peeps Into Pepys' Diary*, (William P. Nimmo and Co., London, 1883) p.v.

people. But any question of a similarity between the *Diary* and the way fictional prose evokes private lives is changed by the underlying assumption that Pepys wrote only for himself:

And if this be the highest achievement of a writer of stories, what shall be said of a man who has attained to it in regard to himself, who has set down in a book the actions of his own life, without morbid reflection or analytic apology, clear, simple, essential? The thing would appear impossible if it were not here before us in the diary of Samuel Pepys, now that the document is printed for the first time in its entirety. That it is here there can be no manner of doubt, and it is perfectly certain that the thing is unique and convincing. The world is not poor in the matter of autobiographical writings. Montaigne, Cellini, Rousseau, and in a sense Goethe, are all notable men who have taken us into their privacy and discoursed to us of their deeds. But, however distinct their methods, they have this in common: to us who read, and on whom their eye was set while they wrote, they are *constructing* rather than *revealing* themselves. The essential truth of what they choose to tell us is adulterated by the consideration that they are producing a set of impressions; they select and adjust; their actions and motives are placed in fanciful, or at least artistic, relations with other motives and actions. Further they consciously carry along with them a set of moral problems; in greater or less degree the immensities cloud their narratives; and they are all the time performing, as by anticipation, the work of final judgment. If Samuel Pepys had not kept a diary, or, having kept it, if he had burned it before he died, *as seems to have been his intention*, it might have been contended that no man could write of himself save in this compound way. The complete diary comes with proof to the contrary. The historical matter remains valuable as before; the official records and personages are as curious as ever, but by virtue of the additional matter the centre of interest is changed, and for the first time Pepys himself stands forth as the principle topic, clear, unmistakable, true. As we read there is forced upon us the conviction of a man painted as never man was painted before, by a method the very simplicity of which conceals its almost miraculous success.<sup>22</sup> (Emphasis mine.)

We see here that the historical matter, whose value had to be argued earlier in the century, now has is now taken for granted. As in the

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<sup>22</sup>"The Man Pepys" *Living Age*, p.47.



Introduction to the *Excerpts* discussed above, the privacy of composition is re-asserted not, as earlier in the century, because it guarantees the authenticity of what Pepys tells about Charles II's court and the social life of the times, but because it reinforces the truth of his self-revelations. What the passage also implies is that the new Wheatley edition of Pepys, because of its difference from previous editions, has drawn attention to Pepys's private life.

Henry Morley commented in the introduction to the Cassell's National Library edition of the *Diary* (1886) : "Lord Braybrooke omitted from his edition much personal self-revelation. Some of this has been added by a later editor, Mr. Mynors Bright, and opinion may differ as to the kind and amount of information about the private affairs of Mr. Pepys himself that should go with his notes upon the world about him. I think the more the better."<sup>23</sup> And in an article written in 1906 (and therefore after the publication of Wheatley's edition) on the treasures of the Pepys Library, the *Gentleman's Magazine* said: "...it is a well-known fact that successive editions of the *Diary* have included more and more of the original, and that the *soul* of Samuel Pepys has been more and more fully *revealed*, until today there are few who have not become familiar with him and his wonderful book."<sup>24</sup> (Emphasis mine.) David Hannay (1910) remarked that "If there is all the literature of the world a book which can be called "unique" with strict propriety it is this. Confessions, diaries, journals abound, but such a revelation of a man's self has not yet been found. ... It was secret; it was full; and it was honest ... Relying on the cipher he put down whatever he saw, heard, felt or imagined, every

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<sup>23</sup>Henry Morley, Introduction to Cassell's National Library, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* Vol 1, 1660-1661. (Cassell and Co., 1885)

<sup>24</sup>*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.CCC.n.s.Feb-June, 1906,p.4.

motion of his mind, every action of his body".<sup>25</sup> From the *Temple Bar* in 1870, with its anatomical analogy, through these books of selections and the reviews of Bright and Wheatley, we see a consistent intensification of these aspects of the text, its complete privacy and a concomitant self-revelation. Many of these quotations are extreme in their expressions of the 'absoluteness' of Pepys's soul baring, as if he could not have wrung another drop from himself - "*every* motion of his mind, *every* action of his body". Why such extreme statements were made at this time would be the subject of a study different from this. Perhaps, as Peter Gay suggests, in a world in which the public domain was increasingly threatening, and required the upkeep of appearances, the privacy of the diary was seen to be a refuge. This view of diary-writing seems to have been projected onto Pepys's *Diary*. Referring to the bourgeoisie, Gay suggests that "No other class at any other time was more strenuously, more anxiously devoted to the appearances, to the family and to privacy, no class ever built fortifications for the self quite so high".<sup>26</sup> In the second half of the century, interpretations of Pepys's *Diary* seem to reflect a belief in the capacity for the diary to absorb the most private feelings a person is capable of expressing. Speaking of the difference between autobiographers and diarists, Robert Sillard (1901) suggests that "It is only the diary, written in the privacy of one's closet" in which the trait of sincere confession can be found. Pepys's *Diary* is such a text, The title of his article is also telling: "Our Inimitable Diarist".<sup>27</sup> Elsewhere Gay comments that the "nineteenth-century middle-class family was the

<sup>25</sup>David Hannay, *Academy*, 1910-1911, p.131.

<sup>26</sup>Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience : Victoria to Freud*, Volume 1, *Education of the Senses*, (Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1984)p.403 and *passim*.

<sup>27</sup>Robert Sillard, "Our Inimitable Diarist", *Westminster Review*, Vol. 155, March 1901. p.323.

supreme haven of privacy" and that one could "retreat behind its sheltered" to shut out the world.<sup>28</sup> What this emphasis on self-revelation in the last part of the century does, however, is throw the reception of the first and third editions of Pepys's *Diary* into relief. It highlights the degree to which the text's historical value, and its authenticity in terms of this historical value, formed the principle focus of interpretation at that time. To that extent, the change in perceptions at the end of the century historicises the reception in the first half of the century.

The shift towards an interest in the writer's self-revelation had some curious effects. As I have said, despite the new and fuller editions, versions of Braybrooke's first and third editions continued to be reprinted. The first edition, in particular, was reprinted many times in the last few decades of the century and into the twentieth century. Braybrooke's first edition can almost claim to be a work in its own right to the extent that it was the 'original' Pepys's *Diary*. It was the publication which established the text's reputation and the reputation of the writer. The monument in St. Olave's and the portrait of Pepys in the National Portrait Gallery would not have been where they are without Braybrooke's publication. More than that, ideas about the nature of the text, such as those expressed above about the relationship between the short-hand and the secrecy of the text were established by Braybrooke. Interpretation changed, but some traditions had been established.

The idea of Braybrooke's edition as the 'original' Pepys gains some credence from one or two comments resisting the almost complete edition of Henry Wheatley. J. Hoste for the *Quarterly Review*, in a review which comprehended Wheatley's edition as well as Wheatley's *Samuel Pepys and the World He Lived In* (1880) and a new enlarged edition of Evelyn's *Diary*

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.* p.445.



(1889) opens with a look back to Isaac D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, published between 1791 and 1817. Just when D'Israeli might have thought that he had exhausted the subject of the charms of the "historical value and psychological interest" of diaries and memoirs, the great diaries of Evelyn and Pepys were published. Following this we have several pages relating the publishing history of the two texts. With regard to the first edition of Pepys's *Diary*, as I showed in the last chapter, it was usual in 1825 to approach the review of the text with a discussion about history and the authentic embodiment of that historical information in writing. At the end of the century, however, it became standard practice to introduce reviews of Pepys's *Diary* with an account of its publishing history. The two approaches represent different forms of framing. In the former, the reader is having a theoretical frame set in order to accept a new kind of historical text. In the latter, the reader is being set up to consider a new and different edition of a much-loved but previously abridged text. Discussing the shortcomings of both Bright's and Braybrooke's editions Hoste suggests that in Braybrooke's case "he underrated the charm of those minute details which add so much to the effect, completeness, and reality of a picture."<sup>29</sup> He adds that reading a secret diary puts the reader on intimate terms with the writer and that "trifling occurrences" are necessary for this intimacy. No abridgment of a diary such as the "ingenuous" record of Pepys would satisfy the public. Despite this, the reviewer claims that Wheatley has included passages which are "coarse, indecent, and disgusting", devoid of any "legitimate interest, literary, social, or psychological".<sup>30</sup> Hoste's judgment is clearly made on moral grounds, but he had said earlier that while it is easy to find

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<sup>29</sup>"Diarists of the Restoration", *The Quarterly Review*, Vol.183, 1896 p.4

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.* p.5.

fault with Braybrooke on the grounds of incompleteness, his selection is nevertheless "marked by sound discrimination, and the narrative, as abridged by him, if shorn of much interesting detail, is lucidly presented, and with sufficient fulness to satisfy the generality of readers".<sup>31</sup> Their inclusion requires some explanation and the reviewer considers that they do a disservice to his character by being printed. A similar opinion emerges from G. Gregory Smith's preface (1905) to the "Globe" edition of Pepys's *Diary* (a reprint of Braybrooke's first edition). Smith's preface, it has to be admitted, serves as a justification for reprinting an edition which had been roundly criticised in recent years, so his comments are to not to be taken entirely at face value. Yet, it needs to be insisted that there must also have been a demand for these editions, since they were so frequently republished. At the end of the nineteenth-century there was a proliferation of "abridged" editions of Pepys's *Diary*. While the new editions were celebrated for their "completeness", there seemed to be an opposing current of demand for Braybrooke's first edition in particular.

In brief, Smith suggests that the "supplementary" information in the "fuller" and "yet fuller" editions has to be judged on its overall value to the work and that in fact it adds little to our view of Pepys. There is "enough in what Lord Braybrooke has preserved to give us the true bearings of the Diarist" and that in "all essential matters" Braybrooke's text is "not inferior to the fuller texts". Having spoken himself into boldness he goes even further to claim that Braybrooke's text "gives to the general reader perhaps a *truer* likeness of Pepys than is presented in the larger editions or *in the manuscript*".<sup>32</sup> (Emphasis mine.) Like Hoste in the *Quarterly Review* he considers that the new material in the fuller editions gives a

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> G.G. Smith "Globe Edition" p.vi.

disproportionate emphasis to "accidents and lapses". Whether the first editor had been influenced by "over-niceness or superior indifference to tittle-tattle" the product of his editing "has been so good".<sup>33</sup> Before dismissing this as absurd, it is worth considering that what Smith is saying here is not that different from the Geoffrey Trease passage I quoted in the Introduction, where Pepys is said to mirror the world his text created in the first place. In a sense, the "real" Pepys is the one established by Braybrooke. I suggested that to some extent "Pepys" as a character has floated free of the text which embodies that character. What Smith seems to suggest is that Braybrooke's text is a fairer representation of that character than either the fuller editions or the manuscript itself. Braybrooke's performance is not only the 'original' Pepys but the best. If we do consider Braybrooke's first edition in this way, as the 'original' Pepys, the text which established him as one of the most popular figures of the nineteenth century, then the later, fuller editions do change the popular image of him. In its review of Wheatley's edition the *Atheneum* suggests that "It is not too much to say that under every date there is some addition, great or small, and that some of these additions give a widely different colour to Pepys's conduct, or Pepys's character".<sup>34</sup> As this study has shown, the first edition was also very much pruned not, as Scott thought, in the shape of the original tree, but with quite particular biases. Smith seems not to have taken account of this. By suggesting that Braybrooke's edition is also superior to the manuscript, in one sense, Smith is only acknowledging something like the relationship between T.S.Eliot and Ezra Pound with regard to "The Waste Land", but without any final decisions on the part of the writer. Braybrooke shaped the text

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<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Atheneum*, No.3440, 30 September, 1893. p.446.



for commercial publication, and there is little doubt that a publication much larger than the first edition would not have met with success. But there is another aspect to this. As I have tried to show, Braybrooke's first edition was a nineteenth-century text. It came into the world as a publication which signified the historicity of its contents. In other words, how it was read, and why it was read, depended on its 'historical' position in relation to readers. At first, the nature of that historical position was uncertain. More to the point, this historicity was particular to an early nineteenth-century outlook whose 'historicism' was implicitly presentist in perspective.

Braybrooke came in for quite severe criticism at the end of the century. The *Athenaeum*, opening its review of Wheatley's edition with the publishing history of the text accused Braybrooke of deliberately "mutilating" it, a point reiterated through all six of the periodical's notices running between April 1893 and August 1896. Yet it is noticeable in late nineteenth-century commentary that no-one made the kinds of comparisons between the editions I made in chapter three. This is not to say that comparisons were not made, but that the emphasis fell on the extent to which the new editions - Wheatley's in particular - gave more proof of Pepys's laying his soul bare. The privacy of the text was still stressed, as the undeviating congruence between the man and the text.

Public and private may always be separate domains, but how they are delineated and distinguished, how they are balanced against each other and valued in relation to each other, will change. I have already suggested that interpretations of Pepys's *Diary* in the second half of the century reflected a nineteenth-century retreat into privacy. A reading of Pepys's *Diary* indicates that public and private, home and work, were less clearly delineated temporally and spatially than in our own world, or that

of the nineteenth century. As a number of quotations in the third chapter show, the narrator of the journal lived where he worked and he did not have regular work hours, so that to a modern reader used to a nine-to-five day, the narrator's days seem very irregular, intermixing business with a host of other activities. But the boundary between public and private, as the example of Wemmick shows in *Great Expectations*, was becoming one of greater spatial and temporal differentiation in the nineteenth century. Macaulay observes this increasing differentiation in the third chapter of his *History* (1848). In an explicitly comparative passage he shows how the patterns of city life have changed from the late seventeenth century:

The whole character of the City has, since that time changed. At present the bankers, the merchants and the chief shopkeepers repair thither on six mornings a week for the transaction of business; but they reside in other quarters of the metropolis, or at suburban country seats surrounded by shrubberies and flower gardens. This revolution of private habits has produced a political revolution of no small importance. The City is no longer regarded by the wealthiest traders with the attachment which every man naturally feels for his home. It is no longer associated in their minds with domestic affections and endearments. The fireside, the nursery, and the quiet bed are not there. Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street are merely places where men toil and accumulate. They go elsewhere to enjoy and expend. On a Sunday, or in an evening after the hours of business, some courts and alleys, which a few hours before had been alive with scurrying feet and anxious faces, are as silent as the glades of a forest.

It is quite clear from this that already in the middle of the century the new boundaries, both spatial and temporal, had become firmly fixed. Furthermore Macaulay's rhetoric of what is now exclusively public space ("where men toil and accumulate") and private or domestic space ("...domestic affections and endearments [,] the fireside, the nursery, and the quiet bed") carries with it quite definite value judgements. In some of the quotations above, it can be noticed that in the second half of the

century, the private life of Pepys is given priority over public life. The public parts of the text had already been thoroughly discussed and much of the private material was new. Nevertheless, the shift reflects current preoccupations in which the kind of separation outlined by Macaulay foregrounds private and domestic life (like the diary) as the repository of the 'truer' self.

From being a seventeenth-century civil servant, Pepys had, by the end of the nineteenth century, become a nineteenth-century civil servant, with a somewhat grubby private life to confess to his journal. By 1905 when Austin Dobson wrote his poem on Pepys, part of which forms the epigraph to this chapter, the diarist had not only become a household name, but a posthumous member of the English middle class.<sup>35</sup> In the same year Sir Sidney Lee wrote: "Pepys presents himself to readers of his naive diary as the incarnation, or the microcosm of the average man"<sup>36</sup> and Hallam Moorhouse wrote several years later that "Pepys may stand as the type of the average man."<sup>37</sup> As quoted earlier the *Encyclopedia Britannica* said that the *Diary* shows the "social state and daily life of the bourgeois class." And *The Times* had called him a "Philistine" in lieu of a suitable English equivalent of 'bourgeois'.

In a full-length book on Pepys published in 1909 by Hodder and Stoughton as part of their Literary Lives Series, Basil Lubbock employed several of these normative terms to emphasise not only the attractions of the *Diary*, but also its uniqueness. In suggesting that by self-revelation Pepys *reflects* general humanity, Lubbock indicates to what degree he accepts the *Diary* as natural, a reflection of life rather than a construction

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<sup>35</sup> Hoste, for example, claims that Pepys was "a fair specimen of the bourgeoisie of his day" p.15.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Sidney Lee, "Pepys and Shakespeare" *Pepys Papers* vol 1, 1905, p.9.

<sup>37</sup> Hallam Moorhouse, *Samuel Pepys, Administrator, Observer, Gossip*, (Chapman and Hall Ltd., London. 1909.) p.9.



of it. "The place that Pepys occupies in our literature, the place which is all his own, is that, simply and essentially, of the ordinary man ... he alone is Everyman, the type of ordinary mortality, the sum of all its desires and efforts."<sup>38</sup> Lubbock added that it was "not for nothing that a name becomes ... consecrated as a universal symbol, and Pepys' torrent of self-revelation, with all its peculiar contrasts, may really reflect habitual and general humanity." Both the ordinariness and representativeness of Pepys became habitual ways of speaking about him. In 1925, Gamaliel Bradford said that "as he was average in station, so he may be said on the whole to have been average in character ... on the whole distinctly representative".<sup>39</sup> Neither Francis Jeffrey nor Sir Walter Scott, no matter how much they liked Pepys's *Diary*, could have classed themselves with him in this way. This was not just because of personal class-consciousness, but because the concept of this kind of representative everyman from the middle-ranks did not exist.

The *Times Literary Supplement* leading article in February 1933, one of many celebrating the tercentenary of Pepys's birth, recognised the by now well-established tradition of referring to Pepys in this way by calling him the "everyman of popular fame" adding, however, that "his childishness impairs his claim to be the universal man; otherwise he had an unusual number of qualifications for that role".<sup>40</sup> In the same week Bonamy Dobrée said in *The Spectator*, "that is why we love him; he is just like you, he is just like me." He concluded that Pepys was "the bourgeois in excelsis".<sup>41</sup> And *The Bookman*, claiming that Montaigne and Pepys are the "two most perfectly expressed personalities which can be found in any

<sup>38</sup> Percy Lubbock *Samuel Pepys* Hodder and Stoughton, London 1909. p.4

<sup>39</sup> Gamaliel Bradford, *Samuel Pepys*, (Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, 1925) p.3.

<sup>40</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 February, 1933. p.113.

<sup>41</sup> Bonamy Dobrée, *Spectator*, 17 February, 1933, p.210.

literature," suggested that Pepys "embodies the character of the mediocre man".<sup>42</sup> (These three articles were published at the tercentenary of Pepys's birth, 23 February, 1633.) Even more recently under the rubric *Reasons For the Fame of the Diary*, Ivan E. Taylor suggests that "Everyman sees a little, or much, of Mr. Pepys in himself; for the *Diary* is the greatest record extant of average man when observed by others".<sup>43</sup>

The terms everyman, universal, average, ordinary, middle class, bourgeois and Philistine, all of which have been applied to the character Pepys as he emerges from the *Diary* are not necessarily synonymous. The perceptions they embody are frequently ambiguous, dependent both on context and angle of view. That they are used more or less interchangeably in describing the diarist, that he can, for example, be seen as either an everyman, or as average, *because* he is middle class, is of considerable historical importance. They are terms that could only be clustered together as a result of social changes in the nineteenth century and they are, therefore, applied anachronistically to Pepys. Pepys was a prototype of the modern civil servant. Just as the successive Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884 had gradually enfranchised non-aristocratic sections of the English population, Pepys, too, had been retrospectively enfranchised as the member of a class now seen to be a major force. The writer of the 1933 *Times Literary Supplement* article mentioned above recognised this retrospective enlisting of Pepys into the ranks of the middle-class by suggesting that certain sides of him "can now be better appreciated than ever before, for the civil servant is now as established a type among us as it was a rarity in his own day."<sup>44</sup> In one sense, a certain de-historicising of

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<sup>42</sup>Esmé Whittaker, "Montaigne and Pepys", *The Bookman*, Vol LXXXIII, February, 1933. p. 432.

<sup>43</sup>Ivan E. Taylor, *Samuel Pepys*, (Twayne Publishers, Inc., New York, 1970) p.25.

<sup>44</sup>T.L.S., 23 February, 1933. p.114.

the *Diary* began to occur in the last part of the nineteenth century. The effect of this seems to have been a retreat from history into the "continuities" of ordinary, everyday and domestic life.

The shift from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century described above does not necessarily imply a progressive move in the direction of a classless society. The fact that terms such as middle class and bourgeois can be used derisively in a variety of ways, suggests that this is not so. The idea that there is such a thing as an average person who is somehow representative of all people may well be a fiction, but it is perhaps a useful concept in appealing to a sense of social cohesion through shared (if imagined) values, and a shared sensibility, in mass society. What is of importance is the idea that such a representative could be perceived to exist at all, and could be located by a combination of attributes - occupation, social position and sensibility. There is the strong sense, too, in the case of Pepys that his qualifications for the role of everyman include the fact that his daily life brought him into contact with all levels of society. Pepys himself represented the mean between all these levels.

It would be an oversimplification to suggest that Pepys became the everyman of popular fame because the contents of the *Diary* made themselves available to the projection of emerging social values onto its author; that, in other words, this new interpretation of Pepys was the inevitable result of larger ideological changes. In part, it was also the result of a process of becoming familiar with a text that, in the first instance, had been something of a novelty and which had provided historiographers with an exciting, though slightly unsettling, means of reinterpreting the past. As already suggested, in 1825 Pepys's *Diary* was read with a sense of its historicity, even if the meaning of that historicity



was not clear.. Its garrulous author belonged to a society to which modern readers felt superior, but he belonged to a tangible different world. But as the century progressed and the *Diary* became more widely read, these historical differences became blurred. The result was that interpretation of Pepys oscillated between seeing him as a man of his times and (increasingly) as a man who transcended his historical location.

Familiarity made some difference. At the beginning of the century, as the idea of history moved away from the doctrine of dignity, Pepys's *Diary* had the power to undermine ruling-class pretensions. This is how the text was perceived by many who thought it showed the true state of the the Court of Charles II. But later in the century, the text itself was not historically at the cutting edge as it had been then. It became both personal, and literary, as well as historical.

It became customary in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to refer to the *Diary* as a classic of English literature. In 1880 Robert Louis Stevenson, criticising Bright for his excisions said, "it is no part of the duties of the editor of an established classic to decide what may or may not be "tedious to the reader.""<sup>45</sup> The reviewer of the first volume of Wheatley's edition in the *Athenaeum* (1893) referred to the text as the "immortal Diary" and in a comment that shows the writer to be unaware of the possibility that readers had "learned" to appreciate the *Diary* - that it had not been accepted in the same way in 1825 - he says, "with our knowledge of the acceptance of the book as a classic, it cannot but seem strange that, having the full transcript before him, Lord Braybrooke should have deliberately mutilated it." Seven years later Charles Whibley dubbed the *Diary* an "incomparable classic."

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<sup>45</sup>Robert Louis Stevenson, *Cornhill Magazine*, Vol.44, 1881. p.31.

What all this shows is that Pepys's *Diary* is a text which has been responsive to social changes. The "vast chaos" as Francis Jeffrey termed it, can be cut and shaped in a number of different ways. But it is interesting that the cultural moment of its entrance onto the public stage has been one which occluded its writerly aspects - naivete, in every sense, has been equated with transparency. Lord Braybrooke, in tune with his times to the extent that he knew Pepys would be more acceptable if made to seem unselfconscious, prevented readers from seeing that the narrator of the text actually seems to have enjoyed his creation. He has not just recorded; he has also written about his own writing. It would be interesting to see an edition which attempted to give readers some idea of when entries were made. In truth, such an enterprise would be fraught with difficulties, but the idea alone begins to make another layer of the text visible. Perhaps one day Pepys will be spoken of as someone who wrote stories.

The kind of history I have attempted to outline in this study is one in which Pepys's *Diary* has been performed, that is by editors and interpreters alike, in the image of a belief in an objective reality which writing can reflect. This conforms to Raymond Williams's notion of a distinction coming into being in the late eighteenth century between factual writing and imaginative writing, whereby the former attempts to make the signifier itself - active signifying composition -invisible. In Derrida's terms, this occlusion is deeply rooted in the metaphysics of Western culture. Discussing Derrida's notion, Jonathan Culler suggests that "to think of the written word as simply a record of the spoken word is but one version of a 'metaphysics of presence' which locates truth in what is immediately present to consciousness with as little mediation as

possible."<sup>46</sup> This describes the history of Pepys's *Diary* in the nineteenth century very well. Immediacy, presence, suppression of the fact of mediation, were key elements in performing Pepys. In the early nineteenth-century, the desire for presence, was also a desire to be in the presence of the past. It is a question for future historians interested in Pepys's *Diary* to ask what the meaning of the Latham-Matthews edition is in relation to the late twentieth century.

<sup>46</sup>Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975.) pp.131-132.



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